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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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WHOLE NO. 146.

I.—NOTES ON TIBULLUS.

The natal hour of my edition of Tibullus fell on Friday, June 13, 1913. Friday and two thirteens—an ominous conjunction. And more than that, my own natal hour had also been ominous—it had been marked by a total eclipse of the goddess supposed to preside at such functions. Perhaps then, I may consider myself lucky to have escaped with nothing worse, so far, than the otherwise mysterious disappearance of my own copy of the book, in which I had entered a number of marginal notes, for future use. Some, however, I was able to restore from memory, and a few of them, together with certain others which have come to my notice during the past year, are my chief excuse for the present article.

Under ordinary circumstances, I should make no comment on the fact that these notes are so largely concerned with the literary tradition of Tibullus in modern times. It would not be necessary, despite the fact that one of my reviewers, Professor Emile Thomas, objected to the insertion of such material in a commentary; he considers it incongruous, a hindrance, rather than a help, to the student's appreciation of his author. This is a question of taste and, so far at least as American students are concerned, a question of pedagogical method upon which I am quite content to differ with Professor Thomas without any further discussion. My reasons for it, and therefore my reasons for emphasizing the literary tradition of Tibullus, are set forth in the Introduction to my edition (p. 66 ff.). But in view of one particular remark made by him in this connection, I will state them again from a slightly different point of view.

'Je puis bien assurer M. Smith', he says, 'que, de tous les vers français qu'il cite, il en est beaucoup qui pour nous sont mauvais sans conteste et d'auteurs que nous nous garderons bien de relire.'

The statement is frank; my reply shall be equally frank. I do not need the assurance of Professor Thomas to convince me that a good share of the French echoes of Tibullus, which I have quoted, are dull. To have failed to realize that would argue a dullness on my own part, from which personally I beg to be absolved. I can swear they are dull, those French authors whom he included in his arraignment, for I have read them—I have even read others of the same dreary period in my own tongue, who, incredible as it may seem, are duller yet. Indeed, the most notable and significant peculiarity of the literary tradition of Tibullus as a whole is the fact that modern reminiscences whenever and wherever found are at once so remarkably uncommon and so remarkably commonplace, not only few and far between but confined for the most part to second and third rate authors.

If, therefore, my only purpose in collecting this material had been to point a moral, or adorn a commentary, my labour would have been practically in vain. But that was not my purpose. My purpose was to give something like definite form to what I consider highly important to our understanding and valuation of any classical author—the living tradition of him in succeeding times. In the case of writers so well known and widely read as were Vergil and Horace, the living tradition is attested in a dozen different ways—literary reminiscence is merely one of them. In the case of Tibullus, on the contrary, literary reminiscence is always our most important witness, sometimes it is our only witness. It is disappointing, of course, to learn that reminiscences of the great master of Roman elegy are so rare and so largely confined to inferior writers. But if such is the fact, it is of the highest importance to know it; for it is the literary tradition that reflects and illuminates qualities of the poet's work which we cannot afford to lose sight of. I have already discussed those qualities in my Introduction, and will, therefore, content myself here with emphasizing anew the fact that the literary tradition of Tibullus, in both quantity and quality, is the direct and inevitable result of that rare type of literary art of which Tibullus and Julius Caesar are the most

conspicuous examples. Imitations of Tibullus are few because he deals with traditional motives and is not a man of striking phrases, in short, because in the ordinary sense he furnishes so little to imitate. Imitations of him are inferior, because if he is to be imitated at all, it must be closely and as a whole. It is no accident, therefore, that the most notable imitators of Tibullus should all be of this type, and all second-rate. The *Elegie* of Luigi Alamanni are rarely read except by specialists; James Hammond was never a name to conjure with, and is now completely forgotten; and as for Bertin, I could quite believe Professor Thomas if he were to assure me that few Frenchmen who read Bertin once will ever be guilty of the same offence again.

Briefly then, I emphasize the literary tradition of Tibullus, because to my mind it has a definite historical and critical value, and because I have learned by experience that it stimulates the interest of the average American student. And I distribute it through the Commentary, rather than group it elsewhere, because I also know by experience that unless the student finds it then and there, he will never find it at all.

I should like to believe that my book had something in it for the scholars of other nations, but after all, it was designed primarily for my own countrymen. And if it serves that purpose, I ought to be content.

In conclusion, I should like to express my regret that, owing to circumstances, I could not utilize either Professor Cartault's Tibullus, or Professor Rasi's *De Elegia Romana*. The former arrived too late to be mentioned even in my Preface; and the copy of the latter in our Library proved to be defective, and I have never been able to find or secure another anywhere.

Unless otherwise stated, the echoes and references quoted both here and in my Commentary are all derived from my own reading of the authors mentioned. This, I trust, will explain and excuse their somewhat irregular and miscellaneous character.

A word, to begin with, regarding translations. As I said in my Introduction (p. 65), the translation of Tibullus by T. C. Williams (Boston, 1905), so far as I know, is the first and only complete version by an American. Since then I have happened upon a translation of one elegy, which was made by a Conti-

mental officer in 1778. A copy of his works in which this version was afterwards published is now in my possession. The title-page reads:

'The Lyric Works of Horace, translated into English Verse: to which are added, a number of Original Poems. By a Native of America. Philadelphia, Printed by Eleazer Oswald, at the Coffee-House. M,DCC,LXXXVI.'

The frontispiece, marvelous in design and execution, is entirely due to local talent, 'the work', as the author explains at the end of the volume, 'of Mr. James Peller Malcom, of this city, a young artist, who served but a short time to the business, therefore any inaccuracies therein must be imputed to the above cause'.

The 'Native of America' was Col. John Parke, and the book begins with a long dedication

'To his Excellency George Washington, Esq., L. L. D. late General and Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States of America, Mareshal of France, &c. &c. &c.'

Then after a long and curious 'Preface addressed to the subscribers' (pp. vii-xxiv) we have (pp. xxv-xxxvii)

'The Life of Horace, Compiled from different Authors with remarks on his Character, addressed to his excellency Benjamin Franklin, Esq. L: L: D. F: R: S: President of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, &c. &c. &c.'

Pages 1-190 contain translations of the Odes and Epodes of Horace, most of which are individually addressed to persons more or less prominent at the time. These are followed (pp. 190-334) by 'Translations from the Greek and Latin, with Original Poems'. Some of these are by Colonel Parke, others by various friends. The long and interesting list of subscribers at the end of the book closes with a note in which

'The Author returns his thanks to the Ladies and Gentlemen of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia, for the kind assistance they have given him in promoting this work. The other states have not yet sent forward their subscriptions, which he is well inform'd are very considerable.'

On page 206 ff. we have twelve Elegies, the first of which is a translation of Tibullus I, 1. So far as I have yet discovered, this is the first American translation of any portion of Tibullus. It is addressed to 'Miss M. N.' and dated in "Camp at Valley-

Forge, Apr. 7, 1778". What a vision the words call up! There was an old engraving familiar to my boyhood entitled 'Washington Praying at Valley-Forge'. I have never seen a picture of the great commander swearing at Valley-Forge. Perhaps there is none. Nor yet of the soldiers whittling out chessmen for Mrs. Washington. Nor of Col. John Parke writing verses to 'Miss M. N.'—and other damsels of the eighteenth century. But praying or swearing, whittling or writing verses were only so many ways of winning through a trial so long and so bitter that the tradition of it lasted for more than three generations.

Quam iuvet immites ventos audire cubantem
et dominam tenero continuisse sinu
aut, gelidas hibernus aquas cum fuderit Auster,
securum somnos imbre iuvante sequi!

'What joy, to have the howling tempest sweep,
And clasp my bashful Delia in my arms!
Lull'd by the beating showers, we sink to sleep
Or wake to mutual bliss, secure from harms.'

Not a very successful rendering perhaps. But who knows how cold his fingers were at the time he wrote it, and what excellent reasons he may have had for envying the warmth and comfort pictured in the Latin text.

Tibullus I, 1, 45-48, the distichs just quoted above, are, as Professor Mustard points out, imitated by Hugo Grotius, *Poemata omnia*, Amsterdam, 1670, p. 141 (*Hyemis Commoda Eleg. Lib. I.*).

Quam juvat insomnem ventos audire gementes,
Tutaque in angusto membra levare toro,
Et dominam fovisse sinu, si nocte suprema
Frigidus hybernas moverit Auster aquas?

Professor Mustard also notes that Franciscus Modius Brugensis professes some indebtedness to Tibullus. Cp. p. 2. (*Wirtzeburgi*, 1583):

Sed rivi manent; quid enim manifesta negabo?
Ducti de genii sive, Tibulle, tui, etc.

For example, in *Elegia VII*, p. 29,

Cum gaudente foco semper lucente Tibullo

is a reference to Tib. I, 1, 6,

Dum meus adsidue luceat igne focus.

The last line of his *Carmina Sacra* III, 12,

Despiciam reges despiciamque duces,

almost repeats the last line of Tibullus I, 1; and the same may be said of (*Carmina Sacra* III, 13, p. 134)

Nox adoperta caput tenebris

and Tibullus I, 1, 70. Finally in his *Silvae*, XI (p. 102), he has a little poem entitled "*Albius Tibullus*":

*Ut Cidnus nullas sordes, nitidissimus amnis,
Volvit et a limo purus ubique fluit:
Sic mea Romanas inter castissima Musas
Undique nativo culta decore nitet.
Ergo aliae placeant ornatu trans mare sumto:
Nostra suo et patrio si placet una, sat est.*

in which, by the way, it is of interest to observe that the text itself is more suggestive of Propertius than of the author to whom it is addressed.

Tibullus I, 1, 55.

*Me retinent vinctum formosae vincla puellae,
Et sedeo duras ianitor ante fores.*

Chariteo, *Cantico* IV, 146-8 (Benedetto Gareth, detto il Chari-teo. Rime, ed. E. Percopo, Naples, 1892, p. 333).

*Il captivo d'Amor senza compagna,
Ante le chiuse porte, ardendo, giace,
Et cantando di lagrime si bagna.*

Chariteo (1492-1555) is one of the most notable imitators of Tibullus among the earlier Italian poets. The imitations in his Rime noted here are taken from the commentary of Percopo.

Speaking of the last days of Dr. Johnson, Boswell says (vol. 2, p. 639, Oxford, 1904):

"Nobody was more attentive to him than Mr. Langdon, to whom he tenderly said [Tib. I, 1, 60]:

Te teneam moriens deficiente manu."

An interesting example of a rule which seems to apply more or less generally to scholars and literary men. Reminiscences are likely to begin with some special association, and show a marked tendency to recur. So in this case, if we go back thirty-odd years to one of Johnson's own essays, in the *Adven-*

turer for May 25, 1753 (Works, ed. Murphy, London, 1801, vol. III, p. 174), we find the following delectable passage:

"The nicety of these minute allusions I shall exemplify by another instance, which I take this occasion to mention, because, so I am told, the commentators have omitted it. Tibullus addresses Cynthia (sic) in this manner:

Te spectem, suprema mihi cum venerit hora,
Te teneam moriens deficiente manu.

Before my closing eyes, dear Cynthia stand,
Held weakly by my fainting, trembling hand.

To these lines Ovid thus refers in his elegy on the death of Tibullus (Amor. III, 9, 55):

Cynthia decedens, felicius, inquit, amata
Sum tibi; vixisti dum tuus ignis eram.
Cui Nemesis, quid, ait, tibi sunt mea damna dolori?
Me tenuit moriens deficiente manu.

Blest was my reign, retiring Cynthia cry'd:
Not till he left my breast, Tibullus dy'd.
Forbear, said Nemesis, my loss to moan,
The fainting, trembling hand was mine alone.

The beauty of this passage, which consists in the appropriation made by Nemesis of the line originally directed to Cynthia, had been wholly imperceptible to succeeding ages, had chance, which had destroyed so many greater volumes, deprived us likewise of the poems of Tibullus."

It may be added that had the same chance destroyed all surviving references to Propertius, we should be quite unable to explain how and why the Doctor came to substitute Cynthia for Delia throughout his entire discussion.

Tibullus I, 2, 7-14.

Ianua difficilis domini, te verberet imber,
Te Iovis imperio fulmina missa petant.
Ianua, iam pateas uni mihi, victa querellis,
Neu furtim verso cardine aperta sones,
Et mala si qua tibi dixit dementia nostra,
Ignoscas: capiti sint precor illa meo.
Te meminisse decet quae plurima voce peregi
Supplice, cum posti florida sarta darem.

p. 431, Canzoni II, 50.

Crudel & dyre porte,—il vo' pur dire,
Non vi volete aprire?—horrido legno,
Pien d' ira & de disdegno—& gelosia,

Nudo di cortesia—& di pietate;
 Superbe porte, ingrate—ad tanti honori;
 Non vedrete più fiori,—mhyrti, o rose.

p. 429, Canzoni II, 10.

Nè facciate stridore—ad chi riposa.

p. 430, Canzoni II, 22 ff.

Quante volte da sera,—o belle porte,
 M'havete visto, ad morte—gia vicino,
 Piagner fin al matino,—inanzi il sole,
 Ornando di viole—& di ghirlande
 Ambe due queste bande—& tutto il loco,
 Che fusse vèr me un poco—omai pietoso,
 Et desse alcun riposo—al viver mio!

Tibullus I, 2, 75-76.

Quid Tyrio recubare toro sine amore secundo
 Prodest, cum fletu nox vigilanda venit?

Cf. James Shirley *Triumph of Beauty* (Works, ed. Dyce. London, 1833, vol. 6, p. 336).

and what are all the treasures
 And gifts of Juno, kingdoms pil'd on kingdoms,
 Which at the best but multiply thy cares
 To keep, if Love be not propitious to thee?

Tibullus I, 2, 89-90.

Vidi ego qui iuvenum miseros lusisset amores
 Post Veneris vinclis subdere colla senem.

So in Thomas Heywood's *The Faire Maide of the Exchange* (London, Pearson, 1784, vol. 2, p. 49) Phillis exclaims:

I thanke thee porter, and thanke Love withall,
 That thus hath wrought the tyrant Goldings fall,
 He once scorn'd Love, jeasted at wounded hearts,
 Challeng'd almighty beauty, rail'd at passion,
 And is he now caught by the eyes and heart?

Tibullus I, 3, 4.

Abstineas avidas, Mors precor atra, manus,

is quoted by Frédéric Plessis—omitting *avidas*—for his sonnet to Antony Valabrègue, *Vesper Paris*, Lemerre, 1897, p. 64.

Tibullus I, 3, 57-66, the *Lovers' Elysium*, seems to have been a favourite conception with James Shirley, whom I have already

mentioned above. For example, in his *Love in a Maze*, V, 3 (vol. 2, p. 361), the conjurer says:

Know then, they are wander'd far,
Led by Cupid, God of loves,
They have now arriv'd those groves,
Where no happy soul can sleep,
Venus doth there revels keep;
Consecrating day and night
To song, to kisses, and delight:
They in Elysium breathe, etc.

Cf. his *Honorio and Mammon*, II, 3 (vol. 6, p. 29):

To climb no higher than Elysium yet;
Where the pale lovers meet, and teach the groves
To sigh, and sing bold legends of their loves.

And his *Triumph of Beauty* (vol. 6, p. 337):

Poets have feign'd Elysium after death, etc.

Tibullus I, 3, 59,

Hic choreae cantusque vigent,

is used by Ben Jonson as the motto of his masque of *The Fortunate Isles*.

Tibullus I, 4, 21.

*Nec iurare time: Veneris periuria venti
Irrita per terras et freta summa ferunt.*

These lines are quoted by Benedictus Curtius Symphorianus in his *Commentary on the Aresta Amorum of Martial d'Auvergne*, Paris, 1566, p. 42. For other quotations cf. e. g., pp. 284; 294; 355; 386; 414; 415; 434; 653; 734; 847.

Tibullus I, 4, 27.

*At si tardus eris, errabis: transiet aetas:
Quam cito non segnīs stat remeatque dies.*

Chariteo, p. 202, Sonetto CLXI, 1-2.

*Corre 'l tempo con gli anni e' giorni in fretta,
L' età velocemente al fin contende.*

Tibullus I, 4, 63-64, is the passage referred to by Federico Luigini da Udine in his *Libro della Bella Donna* (*Tratti del Cinquecento*, Bari, Laterza, 1913, p. 248), while discussing the ivory neck of Narcissus.

'Questa è simile', he says, 'alla favola di Pelope di Vergilio nel terzo

della Georgica. Tibullo al primo delle sue colte Elegie ed il medesimo vostro Ovidio al sesto delle Trasformazione ne fanno menzione, etc.'

Tibullus I, 4, 65-66.

Quem referent Musae vivet dum robora tellus,
Dum caelum stellas, dum vehet amnis aquas

was used for the title-page of *Belvedere*, or the Garden of the Muses. Imprinted at London by F. K. for Hugh Astley, dwelling at Saint Magnus corner, 1600. This book, the editor of which was the well-known John Bodenham, is criticised and incidentally the quotation from Tibullus on the title-page is paraphrased and adapted as follows by 'Judicio' in *The Return from Parnassus*, which was first acted in 1601 [Dodsley's *Old English Plays* ed. Hazlitt, London, 1874, vol. IX, p. III]:

Judicio. Considering the furies of the time, I could better endure to see those young can-quaffing hucksters shoot off their pellets, so they would keep them from these English 'Flores Poetarum', but now the world is come to that pass, that there starts up every day an old goose that sits hatching up those eggs which have been filched from the nest of crows and kestrels. Here is a book, *Ingenioso*; why, to condemn it to clear fire, the usual Tyburn of all misliving papers, were too fair a death for so foul an offender.

Ingenioso. What's the name of it, I pray thee, Judicio?

Judicio. Look, it's here: 'Belvedere'.

Ingenioso. What, a bell-wether in Pauls Churchyard! so called because it keeps a bleating, or because it hath the tinkling bell of so many poets about the neck of it? What is the rest of the title?

Judicio. 'The Garden of the Muses.'

Ingenioso. What have we here, the poet garish, gaily bedecked, like fore-horses of the parish? What follows?

Judicio. Quem referent musae, vivet, dum robora tellus,
Dum caelum stellas, dum vebit (sic) amnis aquas:

Who blurs fair paper with foul bastard rhymes,
Shall live full many an age in latter times:
Who makes a ballad for an ale-house door,
Shall live in future times forevermore:
Then (), thy muse shall live so long,
As drafty ballads to thy praise are sung.

Tibullus I, 5, 37-38.

Saepe ego temptavi curas depellere vino:
At dolor in lacrimas verterat omne merum,

is clearly the inspiration of Lebrun's verses *A Climène* (*Epigrammes*, etc., Paris, 1713, p. 148):

Depuis qu'il a fallu m'arracher de vos charmes,
Je bois pour adoucir l'excès de mon chagrin;
Aimable Climène, mes larmes
Sont la seule eau que je mets dans mon vin.

Tibullus I, 5, 39-40.

Saepe aliam tenui: sed iam cum gaudia adirem,
Admonuit dominae deseruitque Venus.

The passage from Mario Equicola which I quoted in my note on these lines was evidently responsible in large part for the following in Giuseppe Betussi's amusing dialogue known as *Il Raverta* (*Trattati d' Amore del Cinquecento*, Bari, 1912, p. 71). Here Baffa, who acts as the apologist of her sex, says:

Lasciate, di grazia, star tanti poeti, perché, volendo coprire il difetto, ch' è in loro, l' instabilità, l' attribuiscono a noi donne. Come fece Tibullo ch' amò Delia e lasciolla per Nemesi, e poi lasciò Nemesi, e tolse Neera, ed alla fine fu sì ardito che scrisse le donne essere instabili e leggiere.

Tibullus I, 5, 57.

Sunt numina amanti,

was used by John Gay for the title-page of his *Dione*.

Tibullus I, 6, 63-64.

Vive diu mihi, dulcis anus: proprios ego tecum,
Sit modo fas, annos contribuisse velim.

The thought expressed is not uncommon in antiquity.

Cp. Plautus *Asinaria*, 609-610.

Egon te? quam si intellegam deficere uita, iam ipse
Vitam meam tibi largiar et de mea ad tuam addam.

Propertius, IV, 11, 95.

Quod mihi detractum est, vestros accedat ad annos:
Prole mea Paullum sic iuvet esse senem.

Seneca, *De Brev. Vitae*, VIII, 4.

Nec est tamen, quod putes illos ignorare, quam cara res sit: dicere solent eis, quos valdissime diligunt, paratos se partem annorum suorum dare.

Statius *Silvae*, V, 1, 176.

Tum sic unanimum moriens solatur amantem:
Pars animae victura meae, cui linquere possim
O utinam, quos dura mihi rapit Atropos, annos:

Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, 35, speaking of certain occasions when the emperor appeared before the people, says:

Iam si pectoribus ad translucendum quamdam specularum materiam natura obduxisset, cuius non praecordia insculpta apparerent novi ac novi Caesaris scenam congiario dividundo praesidentis etiam illa hora qua acclamant:

De nostris annis tibi Iuppiter augeat annos.

Gregory Nazianzenus, *Eis Βασίλειον* (quoted by M. Antonius Muretus, *Variae lectiones*, IX, 1.): καὶ προσθεῖναι τι τῆς ἐαντῶν ζωῆς ἑκαπτος ἐκείνῳ, εἴπερ οἶόν τε, πρόθυμος ἦν.

Vollmer (*Statius l. c.*) also mentions the Hypothesis of the *Alcestis* of Euripides, but *Consol. ad Liviam*, 413; *Anthol. Lat.* (*Carm. Epig.*, Buecheler), 1080, 3; 1116, 5; 1257, 11; 1551, 4, and *Status, Silvae II*, 3, 74, are none of them in point.

As I said in my note, modern parallels are not common. The most notable perhaps of all is the passage towards the end of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, Day 10, Novel 3, in which Nathan and Mithridanes are showing off their generosity to each other. For example, among other things Nathan says:

Piccol dono è donare cento anni: quanto adunque è minore donarne sei o otto che io a star ci abbia? Prendila adunque, se ella t' aggradea, io te ne priego.

And among other things Mithridanes replies:

Tolga Iddio che così cara cosa, come la vostra vita è no che io da voi dividendola la prenda, ma pur la disideri, come poco avanti faceva: alla quale non che io diminuissi gli anni suoi, ma io l' aggiugnerei volentier de' miei.

F. D. Guerazzi, *Beatrice Cenci*, chap. 31, makes Beatrice say, in her last speech to her friends, the 'Sette Vergini':

Io vorrei lasciarvi gli anni che avrei dovuto vivere per aggiuntarli ai vostri: e meglio le contentezze che avrei dovuto godere.

In his 'Epistula ad clarissimum poetam regium Faustum Andrelinum, praeceptorem suum quam optime meritum' (*Poemata aliquot insignia illustrium poetarum recentiorum*, Basileae, 1544), Claudius Baudinus says:

Sum iuvenis; Divi, nostrum superaddite vitae
Tempus adorando post sua fata seni

Huic date quod fati decreto vivere possum;
Sit phoenix illi vita, cicada mihi.

Pro Polluce vices gerat et pro Castore; ut annos
Vixerit ipse suos vivat et inde meos.

According to Witkowski, *L'Art Profane à l'Eglise*, Paris, 1908, p. 63, the last two lines of the epitaph of Dorothea Tonna in the Church of St. Mark, Trent, are:

Immatura peri: sed tu diuturnior, annos
Vive meos, coniux optime, vive tuos.

Tibullus I, 6, 81-82.

Hanc animo gaudente vident iuvenumque catervae
Commemorant merito tot mala ferre senem:

The exceptional use of *senem* as a feminine in this passage is thus commented upon by Pontanus in his *Charon* (Opera, Basel, vol. 2, p. 1170):

At a Tibullo Albio comiter fuisse exceptum cumque Pedanum me vocari dicerem, gaudium eum exhibuisse, arbitratum Pedito, in cuius agro rus habuisset, oriundum esse atque huius rei gratia docuisse me nomen 'senex' apud vetustissimos latinos communis fuisse generis, propterea quod dixisse se cum de anicula loqueretur, 'merito tot mala ferre senem?'

Apropos of the 'Blue Loire' (Tibullus I, 7, 12), Robert Barr, in his novel of Cardillac, chap. 12, says that the river is:

"In spring a raging, resistless flood, spreading from bank to bank, but now, under the moonlight, seeming a serious and placid stream, intersected by long patches of gravel islands and peninsulas, white and gleaming between glittering stretches of blue water."

Since my note on Jupiter Pluvius was written (I, 7, 26) Professor Mustard has discovered the following examples of its use:

Augustinus Favoritius Ad Ferdinandum Furstenbergium;
De nocturno bubonis cantu in Albano secessu (Septem Illustrium Virorum Poemata. Amstelodami, ap. Elzevirium, 1672, p. 98):

Interdum iuvat arboribus decerpere poma:
Interdum nemoris fingere falce comam:
Irriguosque iugo rivos inducere campis,
Cum pluvium tellus poscit hiulca Iovem.

Again in his *Ophigenia*, Ad Sigismundum Chisium in Albano rusticantem (*id. ibid.* p. 120),

Sive Notus venas et spiramenta relaxans,
Terrarum fibris abstrusus elicit angues,
Reddit ut aere silex ignem percussa latentem,
Seu natura soli pluvio Iove concipit illos,
Tactaque sole novo conceptos edit in auras,
Omnia qui sparsi repunt per membra Gigantis.

More interesting because it shows that the tradition of this phrase in English was at least half a century older than the first example of it quoted by the Oxford Dictionary is a passage in the *Ingoldsby Legends* (Jerry Jarvis's Wig, about the middle):

"Joseph worked on; and when at last Jupiter Pluvius descended in all his majesty, soaking the ground into the consistency of dingy pudding."

Barham, the author of the *Ingoldsby Legends*, died in 1845. Again, Mary Russell Mitford, who died in 1855, says in her *Village Tales and Sketches* (August 15, *The Hard Summer*):

Shivering under the influence of the Jupiter Pluvius of England, the watery St. Swithin.

Tibullus I, 7, 29-34,

Primus aratra, etc.

are quoted by Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas in his *Apologetica Historia de las Indias*, cap. lxxvii [*Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, 13, p. 199, Madrid, 1909].

Apropos of *coma* as applied to foliage (I, 7, 34, note), Richard Niccols [*The Cuckow. At etiam cubat cuculus: surge amator, i domum. Richardus Niccols, in Artibus Bac. Oxon. Aulæ Mag.*—At London Printed by F. K. and are to be sold by W. C. 1607] speaks of

"The loftie trees, whose leavie lockes did shake,
And with the wind did daliance seeme to make."

Tibullus I, 7, 37-38.

Ille liquor docuit voces inflectere cantu,
Movit et ad certos nescia membra modos:

Speaking of the use of music in the churches, Guillaume Bouchet, Sieur de Brocourt, 1513-1597 [*Les Sérées*, Paris, Lemerre, 1873, vol. I., p. 160], says:

'Seroit-ce point [*i. e.*, ceste defense] à cause du prouerbe qui dit, personne ne chante à ieun, et que les chantres aiment le vin? Et pourtant lisez-vous en Ovide:

Pareillement par le vin que augmente
Le bon esprit, des vers rimez on chante.

Et Tibulle:

Ceste liqueur enseigne divers tons,
Et à danser sous l'accord des chansons.

Tibullus I, 7, 63-64.

At tu, Natalis multos celebrande per annos,
Candidior semper candidiorque veni.

Chariteo, p. 119, Sonetto C, 12-14.

Volgi & rinova i tuoi tempi quieti,
Et sia sempre miglior il tuo ritorno,
Et più felice, & pien d' augurii lieti.

Tibullus I, 9, 65-66.

Et tua perdidicit: nec tu, stultissime, sentis
Cum tibi non solita corpus ab arte movet.

Under ordinary circumstances the following four illustrations of the point of this Tibullian distich might be cited as echoes, but it is practically certain that except perhaps in the case of Piron they are not to be associated in the remotest degree with any Roman author. The first (Alexis Piron, *Oeuvres Badines*, Bruxelles, 1820, p. 90) reads:

Jeanneton en la nuit première,
Son mari dessus elle étant,
Remuait des mieux le derrière,
Et puis disait en s'ébattant:
'Mon doux ami que j'aime tant,
Fais-je pas bien de cette sorte?'
Le mari lors qui se transporte
Lui répond de courroux épris:
'Oui, mais que le grand diable emporte
Ceux qui vous en ont tant appris.'

Of which, apparently, the following Italian epigram (Tempietto di Venere, Londra [n. d.], p. 115) is merely a translation:

La prima notte, piena d'appetito,
Lisetta sotto il giovine marito
S'agitava coi lombi e con le rene,
E a lui dicea: 'Ti par ch'io faccia bene?'
Ei di amor fra i trasporti,
Risposele arrabbiato:
'Sì, che il diavol ti porti
Con quei che a far sì ben t' hanno insegnato.'

Quite innocent of any sort of literary background is the following epigram which I found in a college paper some four or five years ago. Unfortunately I am now quite unable to give the exact reference:

All summer the lover has been on the rack,
And he is not happy precisely
To find that the girl that he's engaged to comes back
With a wonderful gift to kiss nicely!

The latest illustration of this theme to come to my notice is to be found in *Puck*, Nov. 7, 1914, p. 15. A picture of a young man and maid making desperate love in the corner of the parlour. The picture is entitled, *The Thorn*, and underneath are the following verses:

No other eyes that e'er met mine
 Have had that deep yet simple lure—
 Eyes maddening as age-old wine
 And yet so clear and pure.
 No other lips I e'er did press
 Were moistened so with honey-dew
 Or parted thus in a caress
 As mine sank softly through.
 No other breast e'er pillowed me
 With such a throbbing rhythmic swell,
 As if, within, a restless sea
 Of yearning rose and fell.
 No other arms about me thrown
 So heavy on my shoulders bore,
 As though a life that stood alone
 Could stand alone no more.
 No other heart I ever met
 So evidently for me burned.
 With all my soul I love her, yet—
 I wonder where she learned!

Tibullus I, 10, 1-8.

Quis fuit horrendos primus qui protulit enses?
 Quam ferus et vere ferreus ille fuit!
 Tum caedes hominum generi, tum proelia nata,
 Tum brevior dirae mortis aperta via est,
 An nihil ille miser meruit, nos ad mala nostra
 Vertimus in saevas quod dedit ille feras?
 Divitis hoc vitium est auri, nec bella fuerunt,
 Faginus astabat cum scyphus ante dapes.

Chariteo, p. 183, Canzone XVII, 81-96.

Ben fu senza pietà quel ferreo petto,
 Quell' animo feroce,
 Che fu inventor del ferro, horrendo & forte
 D' allhora incominciò la pugna atroce
 La venenosa Aletto:
 Et di più breve via per l' impia morte
 Aperse le atre porte;
 Ma non fu in tutto colpa di quel primo:
 Ché ciò, che lui trovò col bel sapere
 In contro a l' aspre fere,

Noi ne li nostri danni hor convertimo.
 Questo advien, (se 'l falso io non estimo)
 Di fame di thesoro,
 Ch' ogni petto mortal tene captivo:
 Ché pria che fusse l' oro
 Non era il ferro al' huom tanto nocivo!

Tibullus I, 10, 45 ff.

Interea Pax arva colat. Pax candida primum
 Duxit araturos sub iuga curva boves:
 Pax aluit vites et sucos condidit uvae, etc.

Chariteo, p. 183, Canzone XVII, 97-102.

Ai, pace; ai, ben!, di buon si desiato!,
 Alma pace & tranquilla,
 Per cui luce la terra e 'l ciel profondo;
 Pace, d' ogni cittade & d' ogni villa,
 D' ogni animal creato
 Letitia, & gioia del sidereo mondo.

Tibullus I, 10, 67-68.

At nobis, Pax alma, veni spicamque teneto,
 Perfluat et pomis candidus ante sinus.

Chariteo, p. 183, Canzone XVII, 103-4.

Mostra il volto giocondo,
 Et, con la spica o i dolci frutti in seno, etc.

Chariteo, p. 390, Cantico III, 25-27 (speaking of Amor),

Ne la sua man portava una aurea spica,
 Et un pampineo ramo, intorno avolto
 A l' aratro, de l' huom dolce fatica.

For which Percopo also cites Tibullus I, 10, 45-47.

Tibullus II, 1, 81-82.

Sancte, veni dapibus festis, sed pone sagittas
 Et procul ardentis hinc precor abde faces!

Compare Lessing, *An Amor, Lieder*, vol. I, p. 128, Stuttgart, 1886:

Komm auch ohne Pfeil und Bogen,
 Ohne Fackel angezogen
 Stelle dich, um mir lieb zu sein, etc.

Tibullus II, 2, 1 ff.

Dicamus bona verba: venit Natalis ad aras:
 Quisquis ades, lingua, vir mulierque, fave, etc.

Chariteo, p. 118, Sonetto C, 5 ff.

Dicano hor caste, pie, sante parole,
Ecco 'l dolce natal, fausto & giocondo
Del gran Pontano, a null' altro secondo
In le virtù, ch' Apollo honora & cole.

Tibullus II, 3, 11-14,

Pavit et Admeti tauros formosus Apollo,
Nec cithara intonsae profueruntve comae,
Nec potuit curas sanare salubribus herbis:
Quidquid erat medicae vicerat artis amor,

are imitated by Angelo Poliziano, Stanze I, 108.

Diventa Febo in Tessaglia un pastore;
E' n picciola capanna si ripone
Colui ch' a tutto 'l mondo dà splendore;
Nè gli giova a sanar sue piaghe acerbe,
Perchè conosca le virtù dell' erbe.

Tibullus II, 4, 19,

Ad dominam faciles aditus per carmina quaero,

evidently inspired the following mediaeval epigram, to be found,
for instance, in the *Nugae Venales*, *Crepundia Poetica*, p. 27.

Ad dominam intrepido vis tendere carmina cursu?
Scire operae pretium est quo pede versus eat:
Nimirum pedibus metrorum ex omnibus unum
Prae reliquis mulier dactylon omnis amat.

Tibullus II, 5, 109-110.

Et mihi praecipue iaceo cum saucius annum
Et faveo morbo, cum iuvat ipse dolor

seems to have suggested to Angelo Poliziano, Stanze I, 13, 8,

Si bel titol d' amore ha dato 'l mondo
A un cieca peste, a un mal giocondo,

and again in his *Orfeo*, Atto, 1.

Aristeo ama, e diamar non vuole,
Nè guarir cerca di sì dolci noglie.

Compare also Benserade, *Regrets*, p. 155.

Je favorise mon martyre
Et déteste ma guérison.

For Chariteo, Sonetto CCX, p. 247,

Non fulge nel mio albergo auro nè avorio,
La vana ambitione in odio tegno:
De la benegna vena del mio ingegno,
Di fede & mente retta io sol mi glorio,

Percopo cites Tibullus III, 3, 11, 13, 16, but the real inspiration of this sonnet, as Percopo, himself, shows, is the famous Ode of Horace (II, xviii) which begins

Non ebur neque aureum
Mea renidet in domo lacunar,
Non trabes Hymettiae
Premunt columnas ultima recisas, etc.

Tibullus III, 4, 63.

Sed flecti poterit: mens est mutabilis illis:

Chariteo, p. 123, Sonetto CVII, 13-14.

Ma come è fermo un odioso stato,
Fuor di natura, in petto femminile?

Tibullus III, 5, 4 [Lygdamus],

Cum se purpureo vere remittit humus,

is the motto and inspiration of Frédéric Plessis' 'Le Lac Natal' Vesper, Paris, Lemerre, n. d. p. 9.

Le printemps, sous sa pourpre, a réparé la terre; etc.

His Gloire Latine, Vesper, p. 1, begins thus:

Ne crains pas si la route est sombre où je te mène:
L'ombre y vient des lauriers mêlés aux tamaris,
De ceux qui plaisaient tant à la muse romaine
Quand l'Aurore et Vesper connaissaient Lycoris.

Quand l'eau de Bandusie, interdite au profane,
Dans son cristal, teinté par la rose et le vin,
Reflétait un front d'or de jeune courtisane
Auprès de ton front brun, poète au chant divin!

Quand, d'ache couronné, le nom de Quintilie,
Ou le tien, Némésis, ou, Néère, le tien,
Avaient conquis le monde à la mélancolie
Avant le mort de Pan et le règne chrétien

De demain ne craignant ni l'oubli ni l'insulte,
Pour avoir, deux mille ans bientôt, bravé leurs coups,
Ce monde sans égal offre à qui cherche un culte
Ses temples habités par des dieux grands et doux.

It is of interest to observe that for Boileau the representatives of the Elegy are Tibullus and Ovid. Propertius is entirely ignored. Boileau in his *Art Poétique*, Chant II, 38 ff., says :

D'un ton un peu plus haut, mais pourtant sans audace,
 La plaintive élégie, en longs habits de deuil,
 Sait les cheveux épars, gémir sur un cercueil.
 Elle peint des amants la joie et la tristesse.
 Flatte, menace, irrite, apaise une maîtresse.
 Mais, pour bien exprimer ces caprices heureux,
 C'est peu d'être poète, il faut être amoureux.
 Je hais ces vains auteurs, dont la muse forcée
 M'entretient de ses feux, toujours froide et glacée,
 Qui s'affligent par art, et, fous de sens rassis,
 S'érigent, pour rimer, en amoureux transis.
 Leurs transports les plus doux ne sont que phrases vaines ;
 Ils ne savent jamais que se charger de chaînes,
 Que bénir leur martyre, adorer leur prison,
 Et faire quereller les sens et la raison.
 Ce n'était pas jadis sur ce ton ridicule
 Qu'Amour dictait les vers que soupirait Tibulle,
 Ou que, du tendre Ovide animant les doux sons,
 Il donnait de son art les charmantes leçons.
 Il faut que le coeur seul parle dans l'élégie.

Again, Horace, *Odes*, I, 33, 1,

Albi ne doleas, etc.

addressed to Tibullus, is the heading and suggestion of Plessis' *Sagesse, Amour* (*Vesper*, p. 31). In this poem, the position of Tibullus is occupied by Plessis, and that of Horace by Leopold Sudre. For example, Sudre is made to say :

Si j'avais le discret badinage d'Horace,
 J'essaierais par mes vers de ranimer ta foi,
 Jeune homme qu'un amour invincible terrasse
 Albius, il est vrai, fut moins triste que toi.

To which Plessis replies (p. 33) :

Crois-tu vraiment qu'Horace ait consolé Tibulle,
 Ami sage, censeur des tristesses d'autrui ?
 Le jour que m'annonçaient tes vers ne m'a pas lui ;
 Son soleil ironique à l'horizon recule

La mesure est divine et tout excès nuisible,
 Et qui l'a mal choisi s'obstine à tort au but.
 Horace avait raison mais Tibulle en mourut
 Et toi, n'as-tu jamais dessiné l'impossible ?

Tibullus III, 6, 56.

Perfida, sed, quamvis perfida, cara tamen!

William Hayley, *Life and Posthumous Writings of William Cowper*, Chichester, vol. II, 1803, p. 279.

"In many, many passages" (Hayley is discussing Pope's version of the *Iliad*) "where it deviates widely from the original, a Reader of taste and candour admires both the dexterity, and the dignity of the translator, and if he allows the version to be unfaithful, yet with Mr. Twining (the accomplished Translator of Aristotle, who has justly and gracefully applied an expressive Latin Verse to this glorious Translation, so bitterly branded with the epithet unfaithful!) he tenderly exclaims

'*Perfida, sed quamvis perfida, cara tamen*.'

Thomas Twining (1735-1804), apart from his famous translation of Aristotle's *Poetics*, or, as he entitled it, *Treatise on Poetry*, London, 1789, appears to have published nothing but three sermons.

The *Panegyricus Messallae* is imitated in Canzone VII (Chariteo) in the most deliberate and relentless manner. The passages noted by Percopo are as follows:

Tibullus IV, 1, 28-32.

*Nam quamquam antiquae gentis superant tibi laudes,
Non tua maiorum contenta est gloria fama,
Nec quaeris quid quaque index sub imagine dicat,
Sed generis priscos contendis vincere honores,
Quam tibi maiores maius decus ipse futuris:*

Chariteo, p. 76, Canzone VII, 43-51.

*Benché di tuoi maggiori i celebri atti
Sonan con chiara tromba in ogni parte,
Tu de la gloria lor non ti contenti;
Ma con favor di Pallade & di Marte
Contendi superar la fama o' fatti
De le passate vostre antiche genti.
Sei le passate vostre antiche genti,
Sei preclaro ornamento a li presenti,
A li posteri tuoi non dubbia speme
De riposo, d'honore & gloria vera.*

Tibullus IV, 1, 39-40.

*Nam quis te maiora gerit castrisve forove?
Nec tamen hic aut hic tibi laus maiorve minorve.*

Chariteo, p. 76, Canzone VII, 55-56.

Non si vedrà giamai, nè si sagace,
Invitto & forte sempre in arme e'n pace.

Tibullus IV, 1, 45-47.

Nam seu diversi fremat inconstantia vulgi,
Non alius sedare queat: seu iudicis ira
Sit placanda, tuis poterit mitescere verbis.

Chariteo, p. 76, Canzone VII, 57-62.

Però che mai nessun con tal dolcezza
Seppe affrenar l' indomita insolentia
De l' inconstante volgo & inquieto.
Tu vinci con soave, alta eloquentia
Ogn' animo crudel, pien di durezza,
E'l mesto fai in un momento lieto.

Tibullus IV, 1, 50-51.

Vixerit ille senex quamvis, dum terna per orbem
Saecula fertilibus Titan decurreret horis.

Chariteo, p. 78, Canzone VII, 98

Poi de la tua Nestorea etade antica.

Tibullus IV, 1, 82-88.

Nam te non alius belli tenet aptius artes,
Qua deceat tutam castris praeducere fossam,
Qualiter adversos hosti defigere cervos,
Quemve locum ducto melius sit claudere vallo,
Fontibus ut dulces erumpat terra liquores,
Ut facilisque tuis aditus sit et arduus hosti,
Laudis et adsiduo vigeat certamine miles.

Tibullus IV, 1, 91-94.

Aut quis equum celeremve arto compescere freno
Possit et effusas tardo permittere habenas
Inque vicem modo directo contendere passu,
Seu libeat, curvo brevius convertere gyro.

Chariteo, p. 77, Canzone VII, 71-76.

Tu non ignori in quale arte di guerra,
E'n qual guisa l' exercito sicuro,
Mover bisogna, o posare, o munire,
Dove conven signar la fossa o'l muro,
Et dove più feconda sia la tierra,
Più commoda a difesa & a ferire.

Tibullus IV, 1, 106-107.

At non per dubias errant mea carmina laudes:
Nam bellis experta cano. Testis mihi victae, etc.

Chariteo, p. 75, Canzone VII, 15.

Non voglio errando andar per dubbie lode.

Chariteo, p. 133, Canzone X, 82-83.

Nè gir conven per lode incerte errando,
Ché da qua l' alpe & oltre, in mare, in terra.

Tibullus IV, 2, 5-6.

Illius ex oculis, cum vult exurere divos,
Accendit geminas lampadas acer Amor.

In my note on this passage, I cited a number of echoes and parallels of this pretty conceit. See also Marbury Ogle, *Origin and Tradition of Literary Conceits*, A. J. P. XXXIV, p. 133, where among various examples quoted cf. Chapman, *First Sonnet to His Mistress Philosophy*:

Lovers kindling your enraged fires
At Cupid's bon-fires burning in the eye.

I am now able to add the following from Angelo Poliziano, *Stanze*, I, 44, 1-2.

Folgoran gli occhi d' un dolce sereno,
Ove sue faci tien Cupido ascose, etc.

It is perhaps worth noting that the *Stanze* of Poliziano belonged to an early stage of his literary development, during which he appears to have been considerably influenced by the Elegiac Poets.

This is also the passage of Tibullus which Federico Luigini da Udine has in mind when he says in his *Libro della Bella Donna* (*Trattati del Cinquecento*, Bari, 1913, p. 238), while discussing the sort of eyes a lady should have:

Poiché ho dimostrato gli occhi di questa donna dovere essere neri, non erranti e pietosi al guardo, io voglio anco che sieno luminosi e sfavillanti in guisa, che contendere con le chiarissime stelle, nel limpidissimo el serenissimo cielo scintillanti, possano senza vergogna niuna. Tali erano quelli di Dafne fuggitiva: tali quelli di Narciso, come ci scopre Ovidio; tali quelli di Laura, come ci mostra 'l Petrarca nel sonetto "Amor ed io si pien di meraviglia"; e in quello "Quel sempre

acerbo", e in altri luoghi assai; tali quelli di Amaranta presso al Sannazaro; tali quelli di Anzia, bella innamorata di messer Tito Strozza, il padre, presso al primo libro de' suoi Amori; tali quei di Sulpizia presso a Tibullo al quarto libro; tali quei di Cinzia presso a Propertio al secondo. L' Aristio in Alcina paragona gli occhi di lei iperbolicamente al sole; il che veggio aver fatto il Petrarca ne' sonetti "Qual ventura me fu", e "I vidi in terra".

Tibullus IV, 4, 19-20.

Phoebe, fave: laus magna tibi tribuetur in uno
Corpore servato restituisse duos.

Professor Mustard notes the evident echo of this distich in Claudio Tolomei (1492-1554) *Ad Apolline per il Molsa* (La Poesia Barbara nei secoli xv e xvi, a cura di Giosuè Carducci, Bologna, 1881, p. 44).

Sulpizia salvando pria, salvasti Cherintho.
Fu di Cherintho vita quella di Sulpizia.
Che nome Sulpizia? che fama ti porse Cherintho?
Salvine qui mille, là ne guaristi due.

Menage seems to have admired this distich of Tibullus, but much as he may have admired it, he ascribed it to another author:

'Quand j'apprens la maladie de quelques-uns de mes amis', he says (Menagiana, Paris, 1715, vol. III, p. 220), 'je me souviens toujours de ce Distique de Catulle:

Phoebe, fave, laus magna tibi tribuetur in uno
Corpore servato restituisse duos.'

'Ce n'est pas Catulle', says Bernard de la Monnoye in his editorial note *ad loc.*, 'c'est Tibulle 4, Eleg. 4, imité depuis par Ovide 2. Amor. 13.'

Tibullus IV, 5, 13-14.

Nec tu sis iniusta, Venus: vel serviat aequae
Vinctus uterque tibi, vel mea vincla leva.

Cf. Shirley, *Love in a Maze* (vol. 2, p. 365).

Kill me with love, thou angry son
Of Cytherea, or let one,
One sharp golden arrow fly,
To wound her heart for whom I die.
Cupid, if thou beest a child,
Be no god, or be more mild.

Tibullus IV, 11, is thus very poorly translated by Byron in his *Hours of Idleness* (Works, ed. Coleridge. London, 1898, vol. I, p. 74):

Cruel Cerinthus! does the fell disease
Which racks my breast your fickle bosom please?
Alas! I wish'd but to o'ercome the pain,
That I might live for Life and you again;
But, now, I scarcely shall bewail my fate:
By death alone I can avoid your hate.

Tibullus IV, 13, is thus freely imitated by Thomas Moore in a poem which he entitles, 'Tibullus to Sulpicia'.

"Never shall woman's smile have power
To win me from those gentle charms!"
Thus swore I, in that happy hour,
When Love first gave thee to my arms.

And still alone thou charm'st my sight—
Still, tho' our city proudly shine
With forms and faces, fair and bright,
I see none fair or bright but thine.

Would thou wert fair for only me,
And couldst no heart but mine allure!—
To all men else unpleasing be,
So shall I feel my prize secure.

Oh, love like mine ne'er wants the zest
Of others' envy, others' praise;
But, in its silence safely blest,
Broods o'er a bliss it ne'er betrays.

Charm of my life! by whose sweet power
All cares are husht, all ills subdued—
My light in even the darkest hour,
My crowd in deepest solitude!

No, not tho' heaven itself sent down
Some maid of more than heavenly charms,
With bliss undreamt thy bard to crown,
Would he for her forsake those arms!

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

II.—PRO DOMO MEA.

PART II.

[CONCLUDED FROM A. J. P. XXXVII 72.]

B. The Nasal Verb Flexion.¹

5. *Etymology.* IE. $\sqrt{n\acute{e}y-}$, **a.** 'ducere, trahere, ferre', etc., in Indo-Iranian *náyati* (*náyate*); **b.** specialized as 'ducere (trahere) lanam' > 'nere' in European tongues; **c.** intrans. 'ducere', like Germ. (*sich*) *ziehen*, Lat. (*se*) *agit*; **d.** inchoative-diminutive = 'takes-to, incipit', etc. (§ 20 c).

6. *Inflection.* **a.** (*s*)*nē(i)mi*, *nē(i)si*, *nē(i)ti* (cf. $\acute{e}\nu\eta$ 'span', possibly Lat. *nēs net*); plur. *nə(i)mós*, etc., and in composition *-n[ə]mos* (cf. Av. *fryā-nmahī*, *fryā-* being from **priyom-*, §§ 7 a, 10). **b.** sg. *nāmi*, *nāsi*, *nāti*, cf. Lat. *do-dās*, *dāt*, as found in compounds like *trādo*, etc., and Celtic *-nami -nati* in the nasal verbs (Thurneysen, Gr. § 592). **c.** *nēmi neti*, by influence of *a* on *b*, cf. Skr. *tī-ṣṭhati*, Lat. *sistit*, and the flexion of *cer-nis cer-nit*. **d.** *nēyō nēyeti*, cf. Lith. *spėjū*, etc., ap. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 3. § 136, Lat. *neo nēs net*; perhaps also *nēyeti* by influence of *a* on *f*. Note the abnormal (?) accent of Skr. *chāyāti* 'cuts up'. **e.** *-nōyō -nōyeti*, like $\acute{\zeta}\acute{\omega}\omega$ $\acute{\rho}\acute{\omega}\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\theta}\acute{\omega}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ (: $\acute{\theta}\acute{\eta}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$), cf. $\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$ - $\nu\acute{\omega}\omega$ below. **f.** *nāyēti* in Skr. *náyati* (secondary accent). **g.** *-nyēti*, like Skr. *chyāti dyāti syāti*. In AV. II. 7. 4 *nyā-s* may well mean 'dux'; cf. *rāja-nyās* (like *uda-nyā-*, § 14 c), prius <*rāj-ṇ*: *rāján*- 'regimen'.

7. *Reduction in the priora.* **a.** An IE. group like **budhí nēti* (Skr. infin. *budh-i*, § 4 b¹) or **búdhṃ nēti*, if run together when the force that produced the zero vowel-grade was active, would have yielded **budhnēti*. Or *m* <*om* is admissible under these conditions. **b.** The combination *mṛ-i-nēti* would likewise have yielded an allegro **mṛnēti* (= Skr. *mṛṇāti*, cf. $\acute{c}r[u]$ - $\acute{n}\acute{o}ti$. Lat. *cer-nit* is from **kr-ī-nēti*, cf. OHG. (*h*)*l-ī-*

¹ See AJPh. 25, 369-389; 26, 172-203, 377-408; 32, 407, § 9. Bulletin of the University of Texas, no. 263), § 84 sq.

nēn 'clinare'.¹ Likewise a loc. *m̃ni* or *-mn-i* would reduce to *m̃n-* (or lento *m[n]i-*) as in Balto Slavic **mi-nē* (§ 9). c. Aeolic *πώ-νω*² 'bibō' and Skr. *j[ñ]ā-nāti* (inchoative, § 5 d) have a prius of the type of Av. *pōi* 'defendere' (*ōi* not necessarily = IE. *-ā^xi*), Skr. (*parā-*)*dāi*. With the prius of *πῖ-νω* cf. Av. infin. *fra-xšnī* (*ī* or *ī*); *-ī* is from *-āi*, reduction form of *-ōi* (Bartholomae, Gr. Ir. Phil. I, §§ 217, 219 b). Here (*in*)*clīnat* belongs. From **sthā[i]-nēti* we get **sthā-nēti* in Lat. *de-stinat* (cf. OIr. *con-osnaim* <*con-od-stānā-*), but in OPruss. *po-stānimai stā*, unless due to recomposition, will be a lento form like *πω-* (*πώ-νω*). Also, under proper conditions, **sthā-nēti* would reduce to *-stnēti*.³

8. Proof of 7 ab. *δάμ-νῃμι*: prius *dm̃mi-*, loc. infin. of *√dem* 'to bind' in *κρή-δεμνον* 'headstall'. Cf. Lat. *dām[i]nare* 'to (bind,) punish' (*ā* as in *maneo*): Skr. *damā-s* 'poena', *damana-m* 'bestrafung' (? Germ. *strafe*: *στρεβλός* 'twisted'). Lat. (*con-*)*sternat*, prius *str-i-* 'zur starrheit' (cf. Plautine *timore t or peo*) + *nayēti* (see below).

9. Proof of IE. *-nē(y)-*. Besides OBulg. infin. *mī-nē-ti* (*mī-njā* with *-ny-* as in 6, g.) = Lith. *mi-nē-ti* (*mi-* as in 7 b; see further on *-nē-*, § 20) we have OHG. *stor-nēm* 'zur starrheit ziehe' (§ 5 c; cf. AJPh. 25, 386 q.) = *stupeo* ("attonitus sum"), with original *ē* (now fictitiously explained as analogical) or *ē* < *āi* (see Brugmann, Gr.² I. § 272). The Greek dialects entirely fail to certify *-nā-* for *δάμνῃμι*, etc., but all the *-vā-* forms belong to *δαμνάω*, etc. (*-vā-* after *δράω*, into which *ā*

¹ In *κίρ-νῃμι πλῖνα-μαι* metathesis of *κρί- πλῖ-* after *κεράννυμι πελάζω*. (*πίτνῃμι* < **πτ-ι-νῃμι*?).

² For the combination of **pōi* 'bibere' with **nēy* 'ducere' note Lat. *ducit* 'quaffs, bibit'; recalling the other minute correspondence between Skr. *náyati* and Lat. *ducit*, as in the marriage ritual; also *carmen* (*epos*) *ducere* with *ukthāni* + *nī* § 10.

³ The conditions portrayed in § 7 are, in a sense, the general conditions of vowel gradation, but the reduction of a group to a word might seem to have more far-reaching consequences. That language of most even stress, Greek, reduces *τούτω* before *-ί* to *τοντωί* (Aristophanes). Under like conditions there was vowel syncope in *δάμ[i]-νῃμι* (§ 8) and *μαν[i]-θάνω* (§ 31). The reduction of *priora* in *-ā^x(y)* presents all the stages of vowel reduction now recognized for "roots" or "bases" in *-ā^xy*. Of course, no "root" or "basis" ever existed and my combinations reveal, glimpse-like, how (among other things) "roots" are case forms.

may likewise have been introduced from *-vāw* verbs); *-vāw* by 6 f. In *consternās -nāmus -nātis ā* may be a contraction of *āyō āyē* (aes: *aēnus* different in rhythm and accent); or original *-nō -nāt -nāmus -nānt* (like *dō dāt dāmus dānt*, § 6 b) may have followed the quantity pattern of *stō stās (dās) stāt stāmus stātis stānt*.

10. *Proof of ai/i.* Av. *vərə-naēta* 'chose' = Skr. *á-vṛñta* (Gr. Iran. Phil. 1, § 46; note, after J. Schmidt and pace Bartholomae, l. c., *n[ə]* in Gāthic *vərə-n-tē* 'chooses', § 132; cf. *friya-n-mahī* after § 6 a and *çr[u]-nōti*, § 7 b), in the which *-nī-* has been blandly disqualified, but see the data for OPruss. *-nai-* (Bezzenger in KZ. 41, 93) and connect *ai* in Goth. *kun-naiþ* (: Skr. *jānāti*, § 7 c). These widely separated sporadic manifestations of *-nai-* are not to be voided (pace Brugmann, Gr. 2, 3, § 212, anm.) by a glozing appeal to other *ai* (*ai oi*) forms, for which, rather, the *-nai-* forms provide a reliable etymological source. In view of the inchoative note in the nasal verbs, e. g. *kunnaiþ* = 'noscit' (for Germanic, see Braune's Got. Gram.², § 194¹; supra, § 5 d); and inasmuch as our original verb was (*s*)*nēy-*:—Umbr. *per-snimu* 'precator, po s cito' is to be derived from a primate *prk-i-* (*-i-* lost by § 7 a; *er* as in Av. *parštā* 'interrogare', OHG. *fērgôn*; also in Umbr. *pe-perscust*) + *snēy-/snī*, cf. on Av. *parasa-nyeiti* 'interrogat' § 14 i. Skr. *√nī* is idiomatically employed with words meaning 'carmen' (= Skr. *nī-thā-m*), e. g. *ukthāni*. Goth. *fraih-na-n* comes from IE. *prek-(i)-nə-* (prius = Lat. *prece*) 'zur frage ziehen'; cf. allegro *πυκνός*: lento *πυκ-ι-νός* (prius: *πύκ-α*) 'close-drawn'. Note Skr. *√nī* with *anu* = *precari*.

11. *The nēw/nū verbs.* Besides its applicability to the *nē(y)/nī* verbs my theory of composition also accounts for the verbs in (*s*)*vūmu* (AJPh. 25, 387²), from the parallel root (*s*)*nēw-* (*snēy-w-?*).¹ The *nēy* and *nēw* suffixes are interchangeable at will because they are different flexion forms of one root suffixally employed. In the *deik-vūmu* type, also, the prius was an infinitive, *dēi-k-i* or *dēik-m* 'ad speciem' + *nēw-mī* 'duco'.

¹ Why should Walde s. v. *neo* credit to Marstrand my two years earlier explanation of Skr. *nī-v-i-s* (AJPh. 25, 373)? Note tautological (?) *nī-viā* (: *vāyas* 'web').

12. *Phraseological use of Skr. nī.* The rôle played by (s)nēy 'ducere' continued to be played by Vnī in Sanskrit, as follows: *a.* mṛtyāve nīyate (Vedic prose) = Morti ducitur. From *aliquem Neci* (dat.; *nece* loc.) *ducit* the sense of *a. necat* would derive. *b.* duhitṛve (loc.) *nayati* (Epic.) = 'to daughterhood brings, makes a daughter of'. *c.* vācam *nayati* (RV.) = '<in> potentiam ducit' is typical of a large number of turns with terminal accusative, often amounting to periphrases for verbs; *nī* + *ativṛddham* 'exaugescit'; + *abalimānam* 'debilitat' (?); + *ādhānam* 'pledges' (?); + *ucchrāyam* 'auget'; + *kṣayam* 'necat' (cf. *φθί-ve*, intrans., § 5 c); + *duḥkham* quasi 'infortunat'; + *dvy-akṣaratām* 'makes two syllabled'; + *paritoṣam* 'delectat'; + *puṣṭim* 'auget'; + *ṣamam* 'quietat'; + *prasādam* 'delectat', cf. the gerundial *prasāda-nīya-s* 'delectans', perhaps with *-da* <-dm> (§§ 7 a, 14 a; cf. Bull. § 87); + *bhasmasāt*¹ (advb.) 'cinefacit'; + *vi-kṛtim* 'mutat'; + *vikrayam* 'vendit' (cf. *krī-ṇāti* 'emit', according to § 7 c; Bull., § 86); + *vi-nācam* 'necat' (see a), + *vy-ava-hāram* quasi 'causidicat'; + *vyāghratām* 'makes into a tiger'; + *vṛṇam* 'embarrasses'; + *ṣamam* 'tranquillat' (cf. *ṣama-nīya-s* 'tranquillans'); + *ṣūdratām* 'makes a peon of'; + *sam-rabham* '<in> iracundiam ducit'; + *samatām* 'aequiperat'; + *sākṣyam* 'testem facit' (cf. in ius ducito), In Avestan we find *təm vā ahūm . . . naēšat* = <in> eam vos vitam ducat.

13. *Parallels with Germ. ziehen* (= ducere); zu rate-, zur verantwortung-, in zweifel-; nutzen-; krumm- (and virtually intrans., sich k. z.), vollziehen; den atem ziehen = atmen; sich ins gelbliche z., s. in die länge z.; s. zurecht z.

14. *Compounds, often factitive, in -n(ə)yēti* (§ 6 fg.): *a.* Skr. *iṣ-a-ṇayanta*² = ad celeritatem ducebant (= accelerabant): *iṣ-a-ṇyati*. But *iaivō* = 'liquefacio, calefacio'. Prius IE. *is-m*, acc. to the noun in Skr. *iṣ-* 'erquickung; liquor' (sucus, saft) *iṣa-ṇyā-* 'impetus' is post verbal. Loc. infin. *iṣa-nī* 'to pour': **ism-nā* 'liquori-ductio'. In RV. Vnī is

¹ Also used with *kar*. Apte remarks of *nī* in his lexicon: "bring or reduce to a state or condition . . . in this sense used . . . much in the same way as *kr*".

² Hyphenation responsive to Sanskrit lexical usage instead of to mere morphological theory.

common with objects meaning 'aqua' (cf. *nī-ra-m* water), as *ducere* is in Latin; *ava* + \sqrt{ni} = 'abgiessen' (? *avá-ni-s* 'water course'), *ā* and *ni* + *nī* = 'eingiessen; *pra-ñīta* = holy water.—**b.** Skr. *dhiṣ-a-nyāntas* quasi 'curantes': *dhiṣ-* quasi 'cura'; note the allegro adjective *dhiṣ[a]-nya-* (§ 7 a).—**c.** *uda-nyāti*. prius acc. n. *udn-* as in *uda-dhi-s* 'water-holder' (or 'giver' = cloud, spring)¹; *uda-nyās* (*dhārās*) = aquam-ducentes (fluvii); *uda-nyān* (*abhriyas*) = *a.-d.* (> *nubes.*) The current division, *udan-yāti*, etc., was made without lexicographic consideration² (cf. a).—**d.** Skr. *prt-a-nyāti*: prius *prt-a-*, accus. to Indo-Iranian **prt-*³ (Skr. loc. plur. *prtsú* 31°; once "reduplicated" (?) *prtsú-su*; Av. gen. sg. *parət-as*); *prt-a-nyāti* (*tvā*)⁴ 'te <in> pugnam ducit'. Note for its long grade *prta-nāyú-s* 'hostilis, hostis' (*-nāyú-*⁵: *nāyá-s* 'dux' [cf. *daṇḍa-nāya-ka-s* 'strafrichter'] :: *upāyú-* 'appropinquans': *upāya-s* 'aditus') and *prtanyú-s* 'hostis'; *prt-a-nāyāntam* (accent as in *chāyāti*, § 6 d ?) 'pugnantem'; post verbal *prta-nā*, 1) exercitus hostilis (= pugnam-inferens), 2) 'pugna' (<quasi 'incursio'). The Avesta has *pəšanā/pəšana-m*. With Skr. *prtanājam* 'proelium-agentem' (equum) compare Avestan *yatha azāni pəšana* = ut agam proelia. The good fortune that has preserved forms of the moribund monosyllable *prt-* (on the tendency of monosyllables to vanish, see Bull. § 10) enables us very clearly to trace the course of composition (derivation) down to *prtanā*. In some of the following, also, the monosyllabic stem of the priora in *-a-* (<*m/n*>) has been preserved.—**e.** *brahma-nyānt* 'praying', prius *bráhma* (acc. sg.) 'hymn, prayer'.—**f.** *ukṣa-nyāntas* (RV. 8. 27. 9) means ad-augendum (pass. sense) <nos> agentes and not "doing like oxen"; prius **ukṣn-* quasi 'increase'.—

¹ In *uda-pū-* 'im wasser sich reinigend' and *uda-prút-* 'im wasser schwimmend' the prius *udn* (? *n* <*an* before the accent, § 7 a) may be for the suffixless locative (cf. e. g. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 2. § 185. 4).

² It is curious that even *uda-nvánt* (with *ráthas* = water-bringing car) may contain a posterius *-nvent-* (type of Skr. *pi-nvati* 'fattens'), cf. *vā* · *πηγῆ*, *ἔννοια* · *πηγαί*. In *garta-nvánt-* (: *garta-* 'ditch') *māmsa-nvánt* (: *māmsa-* 'flesh') and *vāna-nvant* 'desirous' the element *-nvant* 'ducens, portans' seems further to have been assimilated to the possessive suffix in *-va<n>t* (TAPA, 44. 121).

³ Or n. **prt-an-*, cf. Av. *savan-* 'cry' in § 14 n below.

⁴ To this might be added an accus. of the weapon.

⁵ Reduced to *-nyū-* in *karma-nyū-* 'agilis', *sara-nyū-* 'celer'.

g. *vṛṣ-a-nyāti* (RV. 9. 5. 6) is said of Soma (Bacchus) as bringer of the rain (drops) of soma (vinum); prius **vṛṣ-ṇ-* (*vṛṣṇ-*) 'rain'. In 9. 19. 5, *kuvid vṛṣ-a-nyantībhyaḥ .. gārbham ādadhat* (nonne vaccis liquorem-ferentibus fetum dedit?), Soma is declared to have put in calf the cloud-cows. The interpretation of *f* and *g* by 'bulling' (subans) came by "disease of language".¹—**h.** Sundries (cf. *c* end). *kṛp-a-nyāti* 'cupit' (*kṛp*²: *kṛp-ā* 'compassion' :: loc. *ἀλκ-ί*: *ἀλκή* 'strength'); *kṛp-a-ṇanta*, posterius after § 6 *c*; *kṛpānam* 'miseria' (postverbal)—*tur-a-nyāti* 'festinat' (*túr* 'festinans', *nom. ag.³ 'festinatio'). *turāna-s* (postverbal).—*dam-a-nyāti* 'constrains, forces': **dam-* = *dama-m* 'constraint, poena'; *damana-s* 'bāndiger' (postverbal).—*bhur-a-nyāti*: 1) (factitive) 'in wallende bewegung versetzen', 2) (intrans.) 'se movere' (cf. § 5 *c*).—*riṣ-a-nyāti* (intrans.) 'geht auf schaden aus' > 'defaults'; prius: *riṣ-* 'schaden' (also 'schädiger'³), dat. infin. *riṣ-é*.—*ruv-a-nyāti* 'cries out', prius acc. to lexical *ru-* 'sonus'.—*sar-a-nyāti* 'speeds', prius from a root-noun **sar-* (: *sirā* <'wasser->lauf'; *sar-a-ṇa-s* 'laufend', postverbal).—*huv-a-nyāti* 'calls', prius *hu<v>-a-* (acc.): (*ā*)-*hū-* ('an-)ruf' (cf. Lat. *su-em*: *ŭv*); or *huv-ṇ*: Av. *zavan-* 'call'.—**i.** In the *Avesta* the entire stock of *anya*-verbs is represented by (1) *pərəs-a-nyēiti* 'interrogat' (prius acc. *pərəs-a-*: n. sg. *pərəsā* :: *ἀλκ-ί*: *ἀλκή*); (2) *sar-a-ni-mnəm* ('irascentem'): Vedic *hṛ-ṇīyā-māna-s* (cf. *ā-hṛṇā-na-s*, i. e. **a-hṛṇā-[m]nas*), act. *hṛ-ṇāyānta-m* (accent like *chāyāti* § 6 *d*)—cf. *pṛt-a-nāyāntam* (§ 14 *d*), *hṛṇāyú-*: *pṛt-a-nāyú-*—with *hṛ-* for *hr-i-* (§ 7 *b*), while *sar-a-* is from **ghṛ-ṇ* (flexion type of Skr. acc. *gír-am*).

15. Greek factitives in *-αινω*. Besides the accus. prius in *ιαίνω* (§ 14 *a*) dat.-loc. priora in *-αι* (*-αι*) are to be admitted. The *-νω* future of these verbs may contain *nēyeti* (§ 5 *d*). The capacity of a present to function as a future will not be challenged by knowers of English or colloquial Latin (*εἶμυ*).—

¹ The other day C. H. F., aged 5, told me a story of the creation of tomatoes by some breaking up or dissection of tomato-bugs. A *settee* he explained as a place "to set tea".

² Original sense something like 'shout, outcry': Lat. *crepitus*; cf. lexical *kṛpa-ṇya-s* 'laudator'.

³ There is a wide range of nouns that indifferently designate action or agent, so that in complexes we may expect either function, even though in isolation only one function survives.

a. *φαί-vei*: defined by "brings to light" (Liddell and Scott) and "bringt ans licht" (Menge), prius IE. dat.-loc. *bh̥ai* or *bh̥ai*, cf. Skr. *bhā-* 'light'; *ῥᾱ-vō* (*ῥᾱνέρος*, post-Homeric) may be analogical; *ῥᾱ-vós* 'torch' may be from **bhām-nós* ('lucifer'); but *ῥᾱ-vḥ* 'torch' has *ᾱ* < *om* (reduced before the accent, § 7 a), cf. Skr. *khā-* 'well': *khā-m* 'hole'; Hom. *φαεί-vei* 'brings light', prius *φαφες*—. — **b.** *κράι-vw*: *κραι-* from a noun **krā-* 'factio'; the "distracted" form *κρᾱ-αί-vw* (see also § 21 c) contains either a dative **κρᾱ-y-ai* (cf. Skr. absolutive *upa-sthā-yam*: infin. *sthā-m*; a stem **krā-yā-* would be made like Skr. *māyā* 'a magic making', *chāyā* 'umbra', *jāyā* 'wife', cf. Av. *tāya-* 'furtum', *gāya-* 'pace, step') + *vw* etc., (§ 6 a, c); or an accusative (*a* < *m*, or *-ām*) + *-nyéti* (§ 6 g). — **c.** *θερμαίνει* 'makes hot' (cf. §§ 12, 13), prius dat.-loc. to *θέρμη* 'heat' (cf. *ἐχθραί-vw*: *ἐχθρη*). — **d.** *λείαίνει* 'to smoothness brings'; prius dat.-loc. to *λείη* (not attested as abstract); or acc. (or dat.-loc.): IE. **lēwi-s* 'smoothness' (: *λείος* :: Lat. *rāvis* 'hoarseness': adj. *rāvos*; cf. fem. *prōnis* [Varro ap. Non.]: *pronus*; Lith. *i-* abstracts and Latin neuters like *pingue* 'fat, fatness'), primate **lēwy-m-nyéti*. — **e.** *λυμαί-νε-ται* (middle, as Skr. *náyate* often is) 'outrages'; prius: *λύμη* 'outrage'. — **f.** *λιπαί-vei* 'anoints'; cf. advb. *λίπ-α* (from a cognate acc. = an anointing), which preserves a monosyllable stem. — **g.** *πῑαί-vei* 'fattens'; prius, if contracted, : **πιας* (cf. Skr. *ṛtvas-*, *κρέας*: Skr. *kraviṣ-*), *πῑap*; or: IE. *ṛi-wī*¹ (cf. on *λείαί-vw*). — **h.** *μυαί-vei* 'pollutes', prius from IE. *mī-* (cf. *pada-vīyam* acc. of *padavī* 'pedis-via' (*via*: *-vī*?) or *mīyā* (cf. Skr. *bhiyās-* 'pavor': *Vbh̥ēy*): *Vm̥ēy* (see Walde s. v. *mingō*, end), cf. the Vedic ritual word *go-māya-s* 'cow-dung' (*-māya-*: **mīyā-* :: Skr. *bhayā-*: *bhiyās-*). On *μια-vτός* see § 30.

16. **a.** Not even the stalking horse *ὄνομαίνω* is certainly from

¹The Vedic adjective *ṛtva-s* (: *ṛtvan-*) recurs in *πῑότερος πῑότατος*: *πῑων*. Lat. *pius* 'good' is postverbal to the Italic sept "*piare*" 'to sacrifice' (cf. *piaculum*), originally = 'to offer fat', as in the Homeric sacrifices. Perhaps **ṛiyā-* 'fat' is preserved in Skr. *ṛi[yā]-yūṣ-a-* 'biestings' (Cl. Qt. 9, 105), but predominantly of the "cream" of the Soma offering; *-yūṣ-a-*: Lat. *iūs*. On Skr. *ṛī* 'to be fat' see the handbooks, noting *πῑ-μελή* 'soft fat'. In Latin, cognates of Skr. *páyate* and *sphāyate* (if themselves different) would fall to-gether (cf. *ṛivah-sphākā-s* 'fat-swelling'). For the generalized sense of *pius* cf. *λίπαρός* 'oily': *λίπαρός* 'importunate in prayer, pious'.

**ονομην-γδ*, but may rather be from *ονομη* + *nyō*, cf. *nuncupo*, Germ. *namen führen*. If we give to *δνομα* (? suffixless locative), as we must to Skr. *nāma*, the syntactical value of Lat. *nōmine*, Homeric *δῶρ' ὀνομήνω* (*-ην- < -αν[ε]ς-*) will mean 'nomine ducam' (for 'n. numerem'¹). Goth. *nam-nyan*, if of IE. provenance, is from an allegro *nōm[n]-nyeti*, while *glit-mun[n]jan* 'candere' (intrans., § 5 c) is from a lento form in *-n-nyēti*. So *lauhmu[n]ni* 'lightning' comes, excep. excip., from **lauhmn-* + *nī* quasi 'lumen-ducens'.—*b.* *ἐλεεινός* 'drawing to pity, piteous', postverbal to **ἐλεείνω*, contains a locative to *ὁ ἔλεος*, or, if from **ἐλεφεσ-νός*, to **ἐλεφος* (τὸ ἔλεος, NT.).—*c.* *ἐρεείνω* 'ask' will be similarly built upon a noun **ἐρεφο-ς*: *Verev-*.—*d.* *ἐρεν-νάω* contains a locative prius **erēu* to a noun *erū-* (§ 19), of the same sept.

17. The "infix" nasal verbs²: *ὑφαί-νω*. The prius is *ὑφαί-*: *ὑφή* 'web', the whole = 'draws to a web, weaves'. Skr. *unābh-* 'to confine'—i. e. 'obstringere, compe[c]scere' (cf. AJPh. 25, 183), see also Grassmann PW¹⁺² Uhlenbeck—gives a clear insight³ into the origin of the so-called *ne*-infix.⁴ IE. (*e*)*nebh-* is certified by *νεφέλαι*⁵ 'bird-net' *nebula* 'veil' (AJPh. 25, 380) and with great clearness by *ἄρνη-νάβη-ς* 'wool-spinner' (= spider, also called *tantu-nābha-ς*; falso ap. Wackernagel ai. gr. 2, II, "wool-navel"!); cf. *ἄρνη-νάβη-ς* 'spider'. A root *ũ-* 'to spin, weave' also is found in Skr. *u-tā-ς* 'woven' *ūti-ς* 'web'. The analysis of 3^d sg. impf. *unap* 'he fettered' as a complex of *ũ* + *nebh-* is therefore scarcely to be questioned.

¹ How long before etymologists realize that the *δνομα*-sept is not to be separated from the *numerus*-sept (AJPh. 31, 413³); and learn from the folklore prejudice against definite names and numbers how to connect *δνομαι* 'I scold' (from a briefer "root" than *enem-*) with *δνομα*. Think of the "naming" of the Speaker of the House of Commons. In the Tennessee mountains they "name it to you".

² See also AJPh. 25, 370 c; 26, 395 sq.; 32, 407; TAPA, 41, 36; Bull. § 84 sq.

³ On the blended stem in Skr. *ṭṛ-nah-* 'to crush' see AJPh. 25, 370.

⁴ It is needless to dwell on the absurdity of a floating *ne*, settling about almost at will, particularly in the *āxi āxu* bases. For the casual, i. e. infinitival, nature of *āxi* see Bull. § 55'; of *āxu* § 19, below.—The "infixes" of Basque and other incorporating tongues, with their precise semantic or syntactic values, are not to be compared. For the casual nature of infixed *-n-* see § 22 etc.; 29 below.

⁵ The metaphoric sense of 'cloud' is predominant.

17a. By rejecting the root *nebh* (: IE. *nē* :: *webh*: *wē* 'weave') anybody is competent, of course, to put in a cursory demurrer to the blended "root" *unebh* and to deny, what I hold to be certain, that in the sept of *νέφος* the sense of 'cloud' has derived from 'veil'. The same demurrant should be competent also to deny that the roots *snēy* and *snēw* are parallel; cf. Lat. *neo* (<**nēyō*): pf. *nēv-i* (an excellent starting point, be it said in passing, for the Latin *-vi* perfects) :: *νέφος*: Lat. *nūbes*. I would now formulate the development of the *unabh* type by a different syncretism, and my formulation, as I now see, has been already prepared for by Brugmann's observations in the *Grundriss* (2, 3, 226). Skr. *mṛṇāti* 'crushes' and Lat. *li-nit* 'smears' reveal an IE. present formation consisting of the reduced root + *né-*. This entitles us to posit an Indo-Iranian **unāti* 'weaves' (: Skr. *utá-* 'woven') alongside of a root class middle **ubh-té* (assimilation disregarded). Further like pairs are **yunāti* (lexical *yunāti*) 'jungit': Skr. *yuk-té*; **trṇāti* 'bores' (cf. *τόπρος* 'borer'): **tr-d-té* and again to **tr-gh-té* (>**trǵhé*); **chināti* 'cuts' (Epic Impf. *a-chinam*): **chit-te*; Skr. *mṛṇāti* 'destroys': **mṛ-k-té* 'nocet'. By syncretism of **yunāti* and *yukté* came *yunákti* and so on. On the derivation of the weak forms *chindánti*, etc. see § 29 a.

18. Skr. *ubhāú*: Lat. *ambo*. *ubhāú* is a dual of a primate *ubho*-quasi 'ply', and as a dual='dupli'. Similarly *ambo* is from the root *enebh-* (on *am-*: *ene-* see TAPA, 41, 46⁷); cf. Skr. *ándhas-* 'darkness' from *enedh-*¹ (ib. p. 52): *-ev-ήνοθε* 'covered' (CR. 13, 400).

19. a. *Factitives* in *-ūnw* (*-ūnyō* is possible). Homer has *ἀμαλδύνειν βαθύνειν βαρύνειν εὐρύνειν ἰθύνειν καρτύνεισθαι* and *θαροσί-*

¹ The cognates (derivatives) of (*s*)*nēy-* 'nere' frequently show a prosthetic *e-*, e. g. *enek-* (TAPA, 41, 31 sq.; IF. 33, 351), in Skr. *aṁṣu-ka-m* 'vestis': Hom. *ἐντεα* 'trappings' (AJPh. 34, 19⁷). The sense 'necare' (TAPA, 41, 37) tended to obscure the sense 'vincire'. For the "fetters" of death observe not merely generalities like *Lethaea vincula* (Horace, C. 4. 7. 28), but specific ritual texts like AV. 8, 8, 10 sq. (*mṛt-yu-pāśá-* = later *kāla-pāśa-*). For the ritual see Caland, ai. Todten- u. Bestattungsgebräuche p. 14 (§ 7); p. 165 (§ 15); cf. p. 172, top; 173, § 11). The fetters were a precaution against *revenants*, but the figure may also have applied to the binding on of the grave-clothes. The Vedic god of death, *Yamá-*, was a 'binder' (Cl. Qt. 9, 109). On the Avesta ritual-binding of the corpse see IF. 11, 120-121 (translated).

vev,¹ all to *u*-adjectives. The *priora* in *ū* (futures in *ū*, if certified, will be analogy futures) are (1) identical with Skr. *ū* adverbs (*rjū* + *kar* Vedic; *tanū* + *kar* cf. § 12 c'); or (2) locatives in *ū* like Skr. *camh tanh* (: nouns in *-ās*, see Macdonnell, Ved. gr. § 385); or (3) neuters in *-ū* (*-ū* from *-ūyō*, cf. τὸ θρασύ, τὸ μὴ ἡδύ, Skr. *vāsu* 'reichtum', neut. of *vāsu-s* 'bonus'), also *āsu-s* 'life', *āyu* 'life' (: *āyu-s* 'homo, genius vitae'), Av. *sanghu-* 'doctrina', γῆρυ-s 'vox', Skr. *āhū-s* 'anruf'.—**b**. But *τοπύ-vei* 'stirs' (< 'draws with a ladle, stirrer') may have an instrum. prius from a primate *t(o)rū-*: Lat. *tru-a* 'ladle' (*τοπύ-ve* postverbal).—**c**. Of the *-ēu* locative in *ἐρευ-νάω* remark has been made above.—**d**. In *ἐλαύ-vei* 'drives, prods' etc. *ἐλαυ-* is a locative from an action noun **elū-s* 'going' (cf. *vé-ηλυ-δ-*, nom. ag.), with *-av* < *au*, a doublet of *ū* in Skr. *camh*.

20. Lithuanian verbs in *-neti* and *-noti*. **a**. OBulg. *mī-nēti*, Lettic *mi-nēt*, Lith. *mi-nē-ti* (fut. *mi-nēsiau* [*-nēsiau* : *√nēy* :: Skr. fut. *dāsyāti* : *√dā*], aor. *mi-nēyāu*) have a clear case of *ē* in the posterius; for the prius *mṇn-*[*i*] or *m[n]-i*² see § 7 b.—**b**. Save by me in AJPh. 25, 386, the large group of Lithuanian verbs in *-nēti* seems not to have been brought into connection with the nasal classes, to which, as *mī-nēti* shows, they clearly belong. They fall into two types: i. *vēs-i-nēti*, prius = Skr. *vāh-i-* in *vāh-i-ṣṭhas*, see AJPh. 31, 410, §§ 19, 20; Lat. **rēg-s* 'ruling': *rēx* 'ruler' :: Skr. *rājān* 'ductio': *rājān-* 'dux'; posterius *-nēti* 'ducere' (§ 6 a). In the more usual *vaz-i-nēti*, *vaz-i-* (also in Skr. *vāh-i-ṣṭha-s*, § 4 a) is like *φοι-ί* in Greek. If the symphysis took place in Lithuanian times *-i-* may be from IE. *i*. The formation is certainly paralleled by (*κί-νέω* and) *ἀγί-νέω* (cf. p. 294, τὸν δὲ . . . ἀγίνεσκον . . . αἰγας ἐπι=

¹ Fraenkel, Gr. Denom. 30, lets all these start from *θάρσυνος* 'confidens', which is mere algebra. *θάρσυνος*, quantity after *πλουνος*, is postverbal. Nor is *πλουνος* credibly derived from *πείθω*, but it is for (ē) *πί-συνος* (: *σεύω*, Skr. *√cyu-*), first meaning 'having rushed to', with sense generally similar to Eng. 'appealing to', 'resorting to', 'rallying to', 'relying on' (see Concise Oxi. Dict. s. v. rely), and markedly like Skr. *pratīta-s* (lit. 'aditus' >) 'fretus, *πλουνος*' (cf. PW², I, p. 200, col. 3, top). In OPersian, forms of *š(i)yav-* (=Skr. *cyu-*) are defined by 'übergehen zu, jemand's partei ergreifen' (Bartholomae, Wbch. 1714. 2). *θρασύς* already meant 'audax' and suggested 'confisus' (Thucydides, 7. 77), and belongs with Skr. *dhar-ṣ-* 'audere', an extension of the root of *frētus*.

² The present *me-nū* owes its *e* to *menu* 'recordor, puto'.

eum <canem> agere solebant . . . in capreas). ii. *akli-nēti* 'blind umher irren' (i. e. ziehen, § 5 c): *ākla-s* 'blind' (cf. factitive *āklinu* 'caeco') *szvitri-nēti* 'albescere, candere' (: Skr. *ṣvitrá-s* 'albus'): the priora are locatives in -i (<ei>), of the *tolī*-type (see Wiedemann, Lit. gr. § 76), cf. *tolī-nu* 'ziehe in die ferne, remove' with *vārg-i-nu* 'in miseriam duco' (: *vaṛga-s* 'miseria'), cf. Skr. *duḥkha-m nayāmi* (§ 12). The symphysis of these groups with locative priora (see on *μενοι-νώω* § 21) may not have taken place till the beginnings of Lithuanian.—c. The special sense of the -*nēti* verbs is that, like *ἀγί-νέω*, they are frequentative (§ 5 d) and also diminutive. So in English *takes to* with action nouns in -ing (as in *takes to jumping*) means "begins, falls into the habit of, begins to busy oneself with" (Concise Oxf. Dict.), i. e. "incipit". This diminutive and frequentative sense also inheres in—d. Lith. *lynóti* 'to drizzle', where -*nóti* = 'incipit' (§ 6 e), and *ly-* is a locative in -ī (§ 7 c; cf. on *ἀγί-νέω*) to the root in *lé-ti* 'to pour'.¹

21. ΜΕΝΟΙΝΩ² and Homeric *Diektasis*. a. The most profitable remark hitherto made about *μενοινώω* is that it owes its -*ώω* to the synonym *μαιμύω* 'valde cupio'. The truth is precisely the contrary. Our verb is a symphysis, in Greek times, of loc. *μενοι-* (cf. *ἡοί[: ἡώς]* 'mane' and, for the *o*-vocalism, Lat. *tergore tempore* [Neue, Formenl. 2,649]) + *νώω* (§ 6 e), but in *μενοι-νήησι* we have -*νηω* (§ 6 d). The sense was 'in mentem duco'; a verb of feeling as Lat. (*in*) *animum induco*³ is a verb of thought (cf. Skr. *mānas* 'voluntas', *μένος* 'ira, ardor'). We also have *animo ducebam* (rebarque futurum, Aeneid). With *μενοι-νώω* cf. Epic Skr. *manasā yat pra-ñitam* = mente quod cupitum, *manah-pra-ñita-s* mente-cupitus, *mano-nītas* 'chosen' (cf. *anu* + *nī* 'precor', § 10).

¹ In the first edition of the Grundriss (II, § 60 C) Brugmann connected the -*no-* of *lynóti* with -*νημι*, seeing (correctly, as I doubt not) in the *lynóti* type a possible starting point for the denominatives in -*óti*. But now the wide extension of -*óti* in denominatives seems to have blinked his earlier vision.

² The forms of record are A *μενοι-νώω* (N 79); B (from **μενοινάω*), 2^d sg. *μενοι νᾶς* (8°), 3^d sg. *μενοι νᾶ* (3°), but *μενοι νᾶρ* (T 164), ptc. *μενοι νῶν* (O 293), impf. 3^d sg. *μενοί νᾶ* (3°), 3^d pl. *μενοί-ντων* (ε!, M 59), C. *μενοινῆησι* (O 82).

³ Is Lat. *moneo* from loc. *mo[ni]* + -*neo* = 'in-mentem <alienam> duco'? Cf. § 20 (φοπ-ι).

The sense of *μενοι-νώω* is given in Sanskrit by loc. *manasi + kar* or *ni-dhā*; also note *manas + kar* (*dhā, yuj-*) 'animadverto'. Instr. *manasā + gam* (quasi 'mente ire') = 'to think of' etc.; *m. + Vnī* would amount only to a causative of *m. + Vgam*.—**b.** The posteriora *-νώω -νήω -νῶ* (<*-vāw < -nəyō*, § 6 f) are all equally original, and were kept alive for their different rhythmic values in the epic. To interplay of *μενοινώω* on *μενοινᾶω* we owe *μαιμῶω : μαιμᾶω* and *ἡβῶντες* (cf. *ζῶω : *ζᾶω*) for *ἡβᾶόντες, ὀρώντες*¹ for *ὀρᾶόντες*. In *μενοίνεον* *ε* comes by § 6 d, or is due to the *ē* of *μενοινῆησι*. After the ratio of *μενοινῶν : *μενοινῶων* we account for *μενοινᾶ : μενοινᾶα*.—**c.** Thus a sufficient number of patterns (*ωω ηη ᾶα*) for Homeric diektasis, the distractive assimilation of vowels, is supplied by the *μενοινῶω* group. See further on *κρααίνω* (§ 15 b), and other etymological patterns will appear below (§ 30). There was of course no real diektasis, no corrective metrical "distraction" (Wackernagel); and even the vowel assimilation of Leo Meyer and Hermann (l. s. c.) footed in these varying etymological patterns—a not improbable source of much that seems merely phonetic. **e.** In *δεικα-ρόωντο* (= in honorem ducunt) the prius *δεικ-a* is an accusative; cf. Vedic instr. *dāc-ā'* 'honore'.

22. **a. MENEAI-ΝΩ.** The prius is a localis (Bartholomae's dative-locative, Gr. Ir. Phil. 1, § 217; cf. Lat. *temperī* 'zur <rechten> zeit, χαμ-αί = *humī* [IF. 33, 359] 'to (or on) the ground'), from *menesai*; the whole = quasi 'cordi ducere' (cf. *animo ducebam*), a transitive as it were to *mihi cordi est*, 'I have at heart'. The posterius *-νει-ς (-νει)* may = IE. *nēisi* (§ 6 a; AJPh. 25, 387). Analogy apart, the preterit, *μενέηναι-μεν* may = instrum. *menes-ē*² + impf. **e-nāmen*. By combin-

¹-ωντ- for "open" -οντ- according to Hermann, KZ. 46, 2-49.

²This ending (cf. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 2. 194 anm.) can hardly be anything but IE. *ē | ē* 'unmittelbar an, bei' (*ib.* p. 817), already glimpsed by Brugmann (Gr. 2. 2. § 185, 3) as a locative ending. English *by* has developed the function of the agent and instrument. The old prejudice in favor of *-a* as the instrumental ending was due to *περά* (see Cl. Qt. 8, 50, 52') = *μετά*, whose *-á* is a nominative ending, as in Lat. *-cola* (TAPA. 44. 119).—It is the *-o | -e* of this instrumental (sociative) that functions as a "connecting vowel" in compounds (survivals, not innovations) such as Goth. *brōpr-a-lubō* (with brother love) etc.; interpret *δακρυ-ό-φι δακρυ-ό-εις* by TAPA. 44, 107 sq. (§§ 1, 27). See also § 28.

ing *μενέηναι* with aor. 1st sg. *μενέηνα* [analogy form after *ἴηνα/ἰάνα* (*ἄν-* < *-ανσ-*)] we obtain a beautiful start for *ä* as a quasi connecting vowel for the sigmatic aorist. Or is *-ηνα* *-āna* the proper compensative lengthening for *-αι-νσα* (*-ν[ə]ση*: *Ṽnēy* :: Skr. *á-di-ṣ-i*: *Ṽdā*)?—*b*. Like *μενεαί-νω* is *βλεμεαίνει*, if = 'superbit' (<se in *superbiam ducit*), cf. *es* stem of *ἀ-βλεμής*. A root *d(e)lem-* (on *βλ-* < *dl-*, see TAPA, Spec. Sess. 1894, p. ix) 'superbire' may be justified to some degree by *del(e)p-* in Skr. *dṛpyāti* 'superbit' (*p:m* as in Lat. *trepidus*: *tremi*). But if *βλεμεαίνων* = 'glaring' (so Liddell and Scott) *βλεμε-* belongs with *τὸ βλέμος*.

C. On the *-d/-dh* root extensions.

22 a. The Latin gerundials constitute a mere aspect of the composita found in the *-δω/-θω* extensions of shorter roots. Observe the pairs (*ap*)*standus*¹: Germ. *standen*; *ciendus* 'movendus': *μετα-κιά-θω* 'sequor'; *-bundus*: OBulg. *bq-dq* 'ero, werde'. The primate *sthām-dh-* contains an acc. infinitive = Skr. *sthām*, and the complex = 'to do a standing' ('do [to] stand'). In *ciendus*, etc., *cien-*: *κία-* = IE. *kiym*, acc. of *kī-* in *κίω κί-νέω* (*-νεω* as in *ἀγί-νέω*, § 20), and the whole = 'to do a moving' ('do move'). In *-bundus*: *bq-dq* the prius is IE. *bhvom* or *bhūm*, and the whole = 'do become'.

23. Syntax of Lat. gerundive: *mihi eundum est* = 'I have a going-do', as Lane almost divined (Lat. Gr.², § 2243), and the necessitarian sense is contextual only, that is to say lies in the dative. Words like *secundus* are formatively like Skr. *dhiyam-dhā-* 'precem faciens'. Note the comparative richness of the *-om* infinitives in the Italic dialects (von Planta, Gr., § 333). *Sequendus* is of the type of Skr. infin. *dhiyā-dhyāi*, cf. *θιάσος* < **dhiym-dhyo-s* (*θιάσαι*· *χορεῦσαι*, like Skr. *dhiyādhyāi*), but Lacon. *σιάδες* (*a* in both < *m*, as Prellwitz correctly saw, BB 22, 283) has *d* (§ 24).

24. The posteriora in the Italic gerundials may be subsumed, quantity apart, in the Vedic pair *nāma-dhā-s* 'name-giving': *ātma-dās-* 'soul-giving', or in *rayi-dā-*: *ratna-dhā*. In the dialects, Umbr. *anferener*² apart, only *-do-* is attested,

¹ a. *amor* (Plautus) = Love must be stood off (transitive, as *standen* is transitive).

² As a matter of palaeography *ANFEREN* < *F* > *ER* is an easy correction; or the second *nf* might be reduced to *n* by teleheterosis.

cf. δ in $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ and $\phi\upsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ (Prellwitz, l. c.), a type recognized as gerundial by Lebreton (Mém. Soc. Ling. II, 145 sq.), otherwise, all the dialect examples are, or may be, irradiations from the "operandus" type, which may be purely Italic, as *operandus* comes from *operam dare* (rebus divinis, Cicero, Leg. 2. 26). For *operam dare* with accusative see Bennett, Syntax ii, § 260.

25. *Statistic of "operandus"*: $\acute{\upsilon}\rho\sigma\alpha\eta\eta\sigma\iota\sigma\iota$ - 'operando-' 7°; $\pi\iota\alpha\eta\sigma\iota\sigma\iota$ - (§ 15 g) 'piando-' 4°; $\sigma\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\eta\eta\sigma\iota\sigma\iota$ - 'sacrando-' 2°—13 instances of one and the same idea.¹ Of other ritual verbs of the first conjugation, sense unknown, there remain $\pi\epsilon\lambda\sigma\alpha\eta\sigma\iota\sigma\iota$ - 5°; (ν) $\epsilon\epsilon\eta\iota\alpha\eta\sigma\iota\sigma\iota$ - 2°. Lastly, Umbr. *anferener* occurs as follows: <"sacra omnia"> *popler anferener*² et *ocrer pihaner* = *populi circumferendi et arcis piandi*.

26. *Proof of dh*:—Lat. *standus*: Germ. *standen*, *ciendus*: $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha\theta\epsilon$ (τ is either metric $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$, or like τ in Skr. *padavīyam*, § 15 h). *Proof of d*: *operandus*; of *dh/d* $\theta\iota\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota\sigma\iota$: $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$. Lindsay's explanation of the gerundials (LL., p. 544, § 95) would have gone better had he used *operam-dus* for his example, instead of **laudam-dus*, etc.; and the choice of Skr. *sthām* instead of Av. *dqm* (for *dan-dus*) might have led him to see the formal identity, excep. excip., between *standus* and Germ. *standen*.

27. *Case-relations of the priora*. In *standus* the prius is an infinitive of accusative form; in *operandus* the accusative of an action noun; in *ciendus* (: $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha\theta\epsilon$)³ again an accusa-

¹ The sense of $\acute{\upsilon}\rho\sigma\alpha\eta\eta\sigma\iota\sigma\iota$ - was generalized from 'operando-' to 'faciendo-', along the easy transition afforded by the equality of the idea of *faciendo*- with the idea of *sacrificando*-.

² As IE. *-ndh-* alternated with *-nd-* we need not here raise the question whether *-n(n)-* came from *-ndh-*, but neither *-nf-* < *-ndh-* nor any analogon is certified by the dialects save in Osc. *anafriss*, where the conditions of Lat. *inferi inferiae* etc. (apparent recomposition) obtain (see TAPA. 29, 19).

³ *Statistic of some Greek verbs in -άθειν* (or *-αθειν*, see Veitch's catalogue s. vv.): Hom. $\epsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\alpha\theta\epsilon$ 'twisted off, cut off; shut out'; in the dramatists: $\epsilon\lambda\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$ 'to yield' (i. e. do a yielding), $\delta\iota\omega\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$ 'to pursue'; $\acute{\alpha}\mu\upsilon\eta\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$ 'to defend'; and particularly $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$ 'to ward off', with $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$ (acc.) matching $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\kappa\iota$ (loc.): $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\kappa\eta$. Hesychius adds $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\kappa\iota\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$ 'κατεκοιμήθη', in gradation with Skr. $\gamma\alpha\gamma\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\gamma\acute{\iota}$ 'to lay', cf. Av. gen. ablv. infin. $\chi\acute{\varsigma}\alpha\gamma\acute{\alpha}$ 'to destroy', but $\chi\acute{\varsigma}(\acute{\iota})\gamma\acute{\alpha}$ 'perniciē' (: $\chi\acute{\varsigma}im$ 'perniciem').

tive (cf. Skr. infin. *pra-mīy-am* 'to neglect'), as in Skr. *dhiyá-dhyāi* 'to deposit' (in which *dhyāi* was once an independent infinitive, like Av. *dyāi*; see tmesis with *dyāt* in § 28). For the propriety of the accusative relation note Bartholomae's renderings of Skr. *bhāradhyāi* 'tragung zu machen', *sāhadhyāi* 'bewältigung zu machen', *ṣayādhyāi* 'liegen zu machen', Av. *vazadyāi* 'fahrt zu machen' (cited in TAPA, 29, 13). I take Av. *vəran-dyāi* to contain *n* < *m* (acc. **vṛ-m*, a more allegro form than the flexion type of Skr. *gīram*: nom. *gār*); but *ir-ā-dhyāi* (in *krāñā* i. = potentes adipiscendi) has a prius **rrm* (like *gīram* < **grram*) belonging with the root of *ἀρρῶμαι* (cf. on *ἀρρ-στος*, § 4 c').

28. But the dative-locative relation is also attested and, in Avestan, with relative fulness: *θrāyōi-dyāi* 'protegere' (*θrāyōi*:- *√trā(y)*- :: *dāvōi*: *√dā(w)*-); *o*-stem locative priora in *srāvayei-dyāi* 'to cause to hear'; *āfyei-dyāi* 'curare' (-*fyei*: Lat. *pīus*, § 15 g); *vərəzyei-dyāi* 'zu wirken, zu thun' (cf. the *es* stem *vərəzyah-* 'wirken, thun', which governs the accusative and corresponds, in its locative *vərəz-yah(i)*, to the Latin infinitives in *-ier*,¹ Bull., § 94; neut. *vərəz-ya-m* 'wirken, arbeit'). The genesis of these infinitive combinations in *-dyāi* (but Av. *dyāi* is also a simplex) is made clear-as-day² by the Gāthic combination *varəz-i* (loc. infin.) *nā dyāt* = "zur wirksamkeit uns ver helfe". So in Av. *srūi-dyāi* 'audire' *sūi-dyāi* 'zu nutzen' we are quite justified in finding the locative priora *srū-* and *sū-* (cf. on *camh*, § 19); and continuants of IE. *nēi* and *snāi* (infinitives like *parā-dāi*, § 7 c) in the priora of *vḥ-θei* 'spins', Av. *snā-daiti* 'lavit'. In *veμ-é-θovro* *veμ* may be a suffixless locative (Bull., § 38), followed by augmented *é-θovro*; unless *veμ-ε-* (like *τῆλ-ε*; cf. *ὀψέ*: *ὀψι-*) is a locative-instrumental in *-e* (§ 22, c'), of the type of OBulg. *kamen-e*, etc. (Brugmann, Gr. 2. 2. § 185, 3 a). This *-e/-o* case, undifferentiated (and not mixed³) as between instrumental and locative, is found in Skr. *div-ā-kṣas-* = *div-i-kṣit-*

¹ Latin *fieri* is from a dative of a verbal noun of the type of Skr. *bhi-yás-* (: *vbhēy*).

² Be it said in passing that this locution (cf. Lat. *sub divo*) probably foots on Indo-European.

³ Convergence by phonetic decay excluded, so far as cases can be called mixed it is in consequence of imitation of the more original lack of differentiation.

'in caelo habitans' (*div-á* = advb. *divā́/divā*); cf. *κερα-ο-ξόος* "worker in horn" (graver on horn) and *ἀσπιδ-ό-δονπος* 'clupeo-crepitans'; *ἀσπιδ-ο-φέρμων* 'living-by-shield'. [Fick, Eigenn.², p. 53, explains 'Ἀλκε- in Greek names as an instrumental.]

29. *The flexional type of fundit and -bundus.* Algebraic analysis has satisfied itself in the past by deriving OBulg. *bq-dq* 'ero' (Berneker, Wbch. s. v.) from *bhū<n>-d-* or *bhvo<n>-d-*, calling *n* the infixed nasal (formant!) and *d* a formant (admittedly from the root *dhē* or *dō*); and has never come to a reckoning à outrance with this ubiquitous *n* (§ 17²). To define *fundit* as 'pouring does' ought, however, to be enough to satisfy anyone that *fun-* is IE. acc. **ǵhwo-m* (: *√ǵhu-* :: Skr. *á-bhva-m*: *√bhū*), not **ǵhū-m* (type of Av. *xšnūm* 'πλήρωμα, completio', § 4, d³), because of *f-* < *ǵhw-*. In pf. *fū-dit* (for **hū-dit*) *fū-* (with *f* after the present—and this may be one source for the *f/h* variation in Latin) is a locative like *srū-* in *srūi-dyāi* (§ 28), and the whole = I did [to] pour. Similarly in Lat. *fin-d-it* 'splits' *fin-* is from **bhim* (: OBulg. *biti* 'caedere'¹), fashioned like Av. *xšim* 'perniciem', + *-d-/dh-* 'dare, facere'.² The root being a long vowel root, in the perfect *fī-dit* *fī* will be a dative-locative < *bhāi* (cf. on *λοι-σθος*, § 4 b). The participles *fū-sus* *fī-ssus* (prius < *bh-ī-*, § 7 c) will contain in *-(s)sos* the correspondent of Skr. *-ta-*, ptc. to *√dā*.

[29 a. I have but lately come to understand the flexional significance of OBulg. *dajq* 'do' (infin. *dajati* 'dare') and to realize that it entitles us to operate, in composition, with IE. *dyéti* 'dat' (cf. Skr. *dyāti* 'δίδοται'). In *scin-dit*, as in *fin-dit*, the prius is an accusative. In *σχί-ζω* (*-ζω* < *dyō*) the prius is a locative to a root noun *skhē(y)-*, and the complex meant something like 'in scissuram do', cf. Lat. *in fugam dare* 'fugare' (causalis to *fugere*) and *in conspectum dare*, causalis to 'conspicere'.]

¹ On the restriction of *findit* to 'splits' see AJPh. 32, 407²; MLN. 22, 38².

² One must remind oneself of the grouping of Lat. *do* with actual nouns, e. g. *motūs dare* (= 'movere' in Lucr. 1, 819, but = 'se movere, moveri', ib. 2. 311); *ruinas-*, *stragem-* etc.; *consilium dare* = *consiliari* (Horace). Copious examples of action noun objects with *facio* in Thes. LL. VI, 92 sq., e. g. *crepitum facere*, ib. 98, 13.

30. The Greek aorist in $-\theta\eta\nu$ (ptc. $-\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, note accent). Exclusive of $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\nu\acute{\omega}\text{-}\sigma\theta\eta\varsigma$ ($-\sigma\theta\text{-}$ < sth , Bull., § 81) and perhaps a few more like it, the $-\theta\eta\nu$ aorists are simply tenses belonging to the *fu-n-dit* flexion type, $\chi\ddot{\upsilon}\text{-}\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ being equivalent, except, to *fū-dit*. In $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\kappa\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\theta\eta$ 'he did lean' (Γ 360) $\kappa\lambda\iota\nu\text{-}$ is accusative like Av. *xšim* 'perniciem'; in $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\kappa\lambda\acute{\iota}\text{-}\theta\eta$ 'did turn' (τ 470), $\kappa\lambda\text{-}\iota^1$ is a locative as in § 7 c. From the analogy of ptc. $\kappa\lambda\iota\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ (Skr. *ḥṛitá-s*): $\kappa\lambda\iota\text{-}\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, pairs like $\chi\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$: $\chi\upsilon\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ were begotten, cf. $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\chi\acute{\upsilon}\theta\eta$ (§ 716) 'did fall' (= *fundebatur*). In A 200 note $\delta\sigma\sigma\epsilon\ \phi\acute{\alpha}\alpha\nu\theta\epsilon\nu^2$ 'eyes did glow' ($\phi\alpha\alpha\nu$ < *bhāyā-m* 'splendorem' formed like Skr. *dayā* 'misericordia' (also cf. *āṣīr-dāyā-*), a feminine to the type of Skr. n. *bhayā-m* 'pavor' (masc.). See on $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\alpha\nu\text{-}$, § 15 b.

31. Other complexes with *dhē-*. In $\mu\alpha\nu\text{-}\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ the prius is from lento $\mu\eta\eta$ [i], as in § 7 b; but in $\mu\alpha\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ from allegro $\mu\eta$ [i]-. An Indo-Iranian "suffixless" locative *man-*, (i. e. *ṃṃṇ*) is found in Skr. *man-dhātār-* and, in tmesi, in Av. *mān* . . . *dadē* 'I have put in mind' (for the form cf. Gāthic *azəm* = Skr. *ahám* 'ego'). In Lithuanian, the causatives like *ly-dinu* 'pluere facio' contain an infinitive prius *ly-*, etc. (§ 20 d) + *-dinu* = $-\theta\alpha\nu\omega$ (but in *-dinu* *i* may be the most reduced form of a case in $-\tilde{a}^*y$, § 7¹; \tilde{a} in $-\theta\alpha\nu\omega$ of $-\tilde{a}^*[y]$). The syntax of the combination reminds of Lat. *marcescere facit* (Thes. LL. VI, 115, 6).

22a. Postscript.—The *do-* conjugation is found in Indo-Iranian. See exx. ap. Bartholomae, BB. 15, 237 and Jackson's renderings, Av. Gram. § 724, 4, Av. *-ricya* is a loc. infin. *ric-i* + \tilde{e} as explained in § 22².

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¹The root is certified as *kṛēy* by *i*-forms like $\kappa\lambda\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\acute{\epsilon}\ \kappa\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\eta$; and Skr. *ḥṛāya-* is from *kṛāye-*. We have a dissyllabic *kṛēy-* in Lat. *colina* 'kitchen' (i. e. in our parlance a 'lean-to, shed'): *ḥṛā-* (long-grade *ā*) 'hut, stall'. Note the rhyming pair *kṛēy* (in *κεῖται* 'lies') and *lēy* (§ 4 b) in Skr. *pra-lāyana-m* 'lagerstätte'; *nīlaya-* 'lager', *nī-lāyana-m* 'das sich niederlassen auf'.

²But forms like $\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ are perhaps from $\mu\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\nu[\tilde{a}]\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ ($\nu\tilde{a}\text{-}\theta\eta\text{-}$: $\nu\tilde{n}\tilde{e}y$: $\sigma\tau\alpha\text{-}\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$: $\nu\sigma\theta\acute{\eta}$; on \tilde{a} see § 31); at all events, in $\acute{\alpha}\mu\lambda\alpha\nu\tau\acute{o}\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\nu[\tilde{a}]\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ suggests 'ad-pollutionem ductus' (cf. § 15 h).

III.—THE ORIGIN OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN NOMINAL STEM-SUFFIXES.

PART I.

In discussing the question of the origin of the I. E. stem-suffixes it is necessary to bear in mind two considerations: in the first place that it is a question of the origin of a whole system, a whole principle of expression, and not of individual suffixes. So far as the latter are concerned no one e. g. who believes in the origin of I. E. suffixes from separate words would deny that in historical as well as prehistoric times many a suffix arose by other methods. Nor could those who deny the principle of composition as the source of suffixation also deny the origin of every individual suffix in that way. In the second place, the fact that the whole I. E. suffixal system is of prehistoric origin makes the question as to how it arose one which depends largely and almost entirely on considerations of general probability based on the nature of the processes assumed and their similarity to processes actually occurring in the formation of historical suffixes and of the other linguistic material, on the continuity of the line of development assumed with the tendencies in historical times, and on the possibility of finding in sufficient number individual instances which can without violence be brought into harmony with the theory under consideration. If, therefore, any one brings forth a large number of unconvincing examples of a *possible* origin to substantiate his own theory, all we can say is that he has not proved his point, that we may doubt very much the explanation of the individual suffixes without being able to say that the unconvincing nature of such attempts will militate in favor of the opposite theory.

It is because of this reason that one cannot claim that the often extremely fantastic attempts of some scholars to find historical words in I. E. suffixes, and their failure to carry conviction with them, is really an objection against the theory of composition itself, and many a scholar who has no sym-

pathy with these attempts will yet believe in the idea which lies at their basis. On the other hand, one can claim that the absence of any considerable number of plausible examples takes away one of the main supports which have been advanced for such a theory, and that any other more in line with the general considerations mentioned above would hold the field, even if its application to the individual suffix would be no more convincing than of the theory of composition. I am referring to such hypotheses as that of Prellwitz BB. 22. 76 ff. concerning the origin of I. E. *-bho-*, which he considers as derived from the I. E. root *bhā* 'to shine', so that Gr. *ἐλαφος* 'deer' would have been originally 'having the appearance of a deer'. As Brugmann remarks, it is impossible actually to disprove such conjectures, and the line of development assumed certainly is a thinkable one, but its failure to carry conviction is due to the fact that there is nothing distinctive about the words in *-bhos* which would in itself point in that direction, the only argument adduced being that in certain words in which the suffix seems to have no tangible meaning we *may* assume such an origin. But precisely the same sort of procedure can be applied to any other word in any apparently meaningless suffix if the latter chances to have a consonant in common with a root or word of such vague and general meaning as 'appearance', 'nature', 'going', etc. Thus we might as well say the suffix *-es- -os-* contains the root of the verb 'to be', translating e. g. Skt. *tāpas* 'warmth' as 'the being warm' or 'having a warm nature'; or that *-ero-* was the root of Gr. *ἔρηνμι* 'arise, move', so that Gr. *ἐλεύθερος* 'free' was 'of free movement' or 'of free spirit' (cf. *θυμός* 'anger, spirit': *θύω*); or *-ue- -uo-* might be derived from I. E. *uē* 'to weave', so that e. g. Lat. *fulvos* was 'of tawny web' and then generally 'of tawny appearance'. But if we would admit a larger number of such origins, we are at once confronted with the impossible situation of imputing to very primitive people the habit of using a very large number of abstract words and of habitually forming an extremely large number of new words by the tortuous paths of useless circumlocution. And finally, the possibility of analyzing in the above way the meaning of words with meaningless suffixes is by no means confined to cases where the suffix does show

some such resemblance to a word of general meaning, but is logically possible everywhere. As far as the mere idea is concerned, we might as well say that Skt. *ásta-kam* in I. E. *-ko-* was 'having the appearance of a home', and that *-dhēnu-kā* 'cow' was 'having the appearance of a cow', or that *bahu-lá-s* = *bahú-ṣ* 'abundant' was 'having an abundant nature', etc.

No more convincing are attempts to identify I. E. suffixes with words of a more concrete nature, since such identifications in every case presuppose that the original meaning of the suffix can be felt in only a very small per cent. of words thus formed, if not in only a single word. While such a spreading out of meaning might be possible here and there, we would hardly assume it on such a large scale as would be necessary if any larger number of I. E. suffixes arose in this way. Moreover, it is almost inconceivable that an ingenious mind could not in every instance find one word ending in a certain productive suffix that would allow forcing the meaning of its suffix into that of some similar word or root, and if the suffix happens to have a resemblance to two words, we can refer with equal probability to both. Let us take an instance that is by no means among the most fantastic, namely the attempt of Fay Cl. Phil. 6. 315 ff. to identify Lat. *-ēdon-* with *edere* 'to eat', e. g. in *ūrēdo* 'blast, blight' as 'an eating to burn' (*ūro*), or in *dulcēdo* 'sweetness' as 'sweet taste'. But if we consider the initial vowel of the suffix to be due to clipping from some stem, we have as much right to take the suffix as derived from the root *dō* 'give', and we can find a larger number of words into whose suffixes we can read the notion of giving, e. g. *rubēdo* might be 'the giving of redness', or *frigēdo* 'the giving, i. e. causing of cold' rather than simply 'cold', or *oscēdo* might be 'the giving of an inclination to yawn' instead of simply 'inclination to yawn'! Certainly not less convincing than the derivation of some of these words from 'eating' would be the analysis of Gr. *σπαδών* 'spasms' (with *-don-* instead of *-ēdon-*) from 'the giving or causing of spasms'. Turning our attention to other suffixes, who could disprove that I. E. *-uent-* was the Latin *ventus*¹ 'wind', e. g.

¹The short *ē* of *-uent-* as opposed to *ē* of the I. E. **uē-* 'to blow' is no more an objection than *o* in the suffix *-bho-* as opposed to *ā* in **bhā-* 'to shine'.

in Gr. *ἠνεμόεις* 'windy', originally 'having wind-blasts', or why is *-uen-* not the same as the Skt. root *van* 'to love', e. g. in Skt. *sāhō-van-* 'powerful', i. e. 'loving power', or in Gr. *ἀπείρων* 'boundless', i. e. 'not loving an end'? The mere asking of such questions at once throws discredit on other similar analyses which at first sight seem more in the realms of probability.

If, then, the supposition that I. E. suffixes mainly arose by composition clearly cannot be proved by establishing such origin of a larger number of individual suffixes, the only other possible proof would be a demonstration of the proposition that most suffixes which either arose under our eyes in historical times, or at least those of whose origin we are certain, are the result of composition, and that therefore the same thing is likely to be true of the others. But in actual fact the number of suffixes which can with any degree of certainty be traced to actually existing words is extremely small, and almost exclusively consists of such as arose in the life of the individual languages when the suffixal system had been developed for many centuries, and when consequently the change of the final member of a compound to a suffix was facilitated by syncretism with already existing suffixes of more general meaning. Cf. e. g. Oertel and Morris Harvard Stud. Cl. Phil. 16. 72., Brugmann Gr. 2. 1². 7. The clearest cases are enumerated by Brugmann op. cit. 12 f., among which might be mentioned Germanic adjectives like O. H. G. *wib-lih* 'womanly', originally 'having the body or appearance (*lih*) of a woman', or abstract nouns like O. H. G. *kind-heit* 'childhood', originally 'station or condition or character (*heit*) of a child', for which cf. Kluge Nom. Stammbild². 80 ff., 111 ff. But all such cases are exceedingly limited in number when we compare them with the almost innumerable examples of suffixes demonstrably originating in other ways even in historical times. Whenever we can control the formation of a suffix of definite semantic content, we almost always find that it is the product of 'wrong analysis' or abstraction, arising by feeling as a unity the final part of a finished word together with an already existing formative which usually has a vaguer meaning. Thus by combination of I. E. *-no-*¹ with various stem-

¹ Brugmann Gr. 2. 1². 254 ff.

finals arose *-sno-*, *-eno-*, *-ono-*, *-ino-*, *-tno-*, *-teno-*, *-ino-*, *-īno-*, *-eino-*, *-oino-*, *-uno-*, *-ūno-*, *-ō(u)no-*, *-āno-*, *-rno-*, *-esno-*, *-osno-*, *-asno-*, *-usno-*. In the very same way I. E. *-ko-*¹ gives rise to *-sko-*, *-iko-*, *-uko-*, *-īko-*, *-ūko-*, *-āko-*, *-ēko-*, *-ōko-*, *-isko-*. Turning our attention to examples in the history of single languages, we find the Gr. diminutive suffix *-ιον*² in the very same way giving rise to *-διον*, *-ιδιον*, *-υδιον*, *-αδιον*, *-υδριον*, *-ακιον*, *-ισκιον*, *-αλ(λ)ιον*, *-ελλιον*, *-υλλιον*, *-ῡνιον*, *-αριον*, *-υριον*, *-ασιον*, *-αφιον*, *-φιον*, *-ηφιον*, *-υφιον*. In Latin again the simple diminutive *-ulus*³ causes *-illus*, *-ellus*, *-cellus*, *-cillus*, *-culus*, *-iusculus*, *-iunculus*. In this way every other simple productive suffix also leads to an incredibly large number of derivative suffixes, so that all in all the few suffixes actually arising by composition are literally swamped in the large number of those arising by "clipping" or "false abstraction".

Applying the principle that the forces at work in causing the changes of language at the present time are the same as those causing the same linguistic phenomena to originate, we could conclude that composition played a very subordinate part in the development of the I. E. suffixal system, but on the whole it was due to the same process of wrong abstraction as gave rise to the suffixes originating in later stages of language. The objection which might be raised, that this clipping in every instance presupposes a suffixal nucleus at the end, does not have much force when we consider that at the most this would only mean that to begin with a suffixal vowel existed, or an inflectional ending; for if we see e. g. the suffix *-uko-* arising from the addition of *-ko-* to an *u*-stem, we can in turn assume that *-ko-* arose by adding the suffix *-o-* to a word ending in *k*, and that *-ti-* arose by wrongly analyzing a word ending in *t* plus the suffix *-i-*. In this way all suffixes except the simple vocalic⁴ suffixes like *-o-*, *-i-*, and *-u-* could be explained by the same forces that are actually at work in creating the historical suffixes, and as far as these are con-

¹ Brugmann op. cit. 473 ff.

² Petersen Greek Diminutives in *-ιον* 204 ff.

³ Stolz Hist. Gram. 574 ff.

⁴ Simple consonantal suffixes like *-t-*, *-g-*, *-k-*, or *-s-* are due either to the same forces that produce the simple vocalic suffixes, or else arise by the phonetic loss of a following vowel, e. g. *-t-* from *-to-*. Cf. Brugmann op. cit. 422.

cerned, the idea that they are or ever were independent words has already on other grounds been given up in favor of the theory that they were the last part of certain dissyllabic roots, having been abstracted from the latter either because these vowels disappeared by phonetic processes under certain circumstances, so that the form e. g. with an *-o-* would appear to have an additional formative element as opposed to the one without it, or because the vowel spread by congeneric attraction from one word to another, so that there arose exactly the same contrast between the form with and without the vowel. Cf. e. g. Hirt *Handbuch d. gr. Laut u. Formenl.* 2. 294, Brugmann *op. cit.* 148. The fact that these simple vocalic formatives show no tangible meaning from the very beginning would of course militate very strongly against assuming them to have been originally independent words, even if we could believe that some unstable single vowels ever were complete words. In this way, then, practically the whole I. E. suffixal system can be traced to one and the same origin which has played such an important part at all times, and this alone should make us give up the idea that composition was the important factor.

Equally unconvincing, however, is the theory of composition from a semantic point of view. A suffix arising from a word must have had a meaning that at one time was comparatively narrow and concrete, but gradually branched out more and more as its origin was forgotten. Now this is found to be actually true of those which we really know to have been separate words. Thus the above mentioned Germanic adjectival *-lika-* O. H. G. *-lih* necessarily first became a suffix expressing characteristic or similarity, and to this use it is confined in the Gothic—cf. e. g. *sama-leiks* 'of the same nature, similar'; but in modern German it sometimes expresses appurtenance, e. g. in *die häusliche Einrichtung*, or in *der kaiserliche Palast*. It designates origin in *der nördliche Wind*, while in English a stereotyped case-form has become a suffix for forming adverbs, e. g. *quick-ly*, *glad-ly*, etc. Consequently we should expect that pre-historic suffixes that have had thousands of years of development behind them should also often show a widening of their sphere of meaning, or at least that those of the many meanings of each individual suffix which

are most concrete or vivid, should be demonstrably the oldest. But in actual fact the reverse is true. Wherever we find a suffix charged with as definite a meaning as a diminutive suffix we find that such a meaning is secondary to an original vague adjectival meaning: it developed from 'descended from', belonging to the category of 'being like'. Wherever we find a suffix as exponent of a minor concrete category to which an object belongs we find that this is plainly the result of congeneric attraction. When e. g. a formative is used in a number of names of animals or plants or parts of the body or diseases, it is found to be invariably true that such a group originated from one or a few words in which the suffix was either meaningless or had a very vague meaning, and that these pattern types caused other associated words to take the same suffix, so that the latter then became exponent of the category. Cf. Brugmann *op. cit.* 589 ff. In all such cases the vaguer meanings exist side by side to show the origin, e. g. the Skr. *-ka-* is not only a diminutive-deteriorative-hypocoristic suffix, but forms secondary adjectives and nouns with the meaning of similarity and appurtenance, etc. And Gr. *-φο-* I. E. *-bho-*, which was productive in names of animals like *ἐλαφος*, *κόραφος*, and *ἐριφος*, is found with vaguer functions in adjectives like *στέριφος* 'barren' and *ἀργυρος* 'shining white', and in abstract substantives like *κόλαφος* 'buffet' and *φλύναφος* 'babbling'. See Sturtevant *Cl. Phil.* 6. 197 ff. Even those suffixes which on the whole seem to be confined to a definite usage nevertheless show traces of a time when their force was comparatively vague. To our minds the comparative suffixes certainly seem to have a definite well-circumscribed function, and yet every one of them has received the same by infusion of a part of the stem-meaning into the suffix in words in which the formatives originally had a very vague meaning. To take but one example, the comparative *-tero*¹ still exists in other functions in Skt. *açvatarás* 'mule': *ἀçva-s* 'horse', i. e. 'something only relatively a horse', similarly in Lat. *mātertera* 'aunt': *māter* 'mother'. Cf. also Gr. *ὄρεστος* 'mountainous' and *θηλύτερος* 'female', in which the suffix could at the most have designated a contrast to opposites.

Without needlessly multiplying examples of these well-

¹ Brugmann *op. cit.* 324 ff.

known phenomena, the damaging effect on the theory of the compositional origin of suffixes becomes evident. The assumption that the most frequently used suffixes should in prehistoric times have all suffered an almost inconceivable attenuation of their meaning, though starting from the definite meaning of individual words, while at all times that we are able to control, these same suffixes gradually developed narrow and concrete uses from the vaguer and more general, presupposes that there were two periods in the history of language during which different forces were at work, a notion which, credible enough in Schleicher's day, certainly no one would subscribe to today. Moreover, since the whole assumption of compositional origin rests on the idea that this attenuation of meaning takes such a long time that those periods which have come under our observation are not sufficient in extent to follow up the individual suffixes, we can point to the fact that observed linguistic history has been easily long enough to show a large number of instances of the opposite process, and also, in case of the Germanic compositional suffixes, it has been long enough even for the process assumed by the compositionists wherever we know that suffixes really did originate from words.

If, however, anyone should admit the vaguer meanings of suffixes as being the original ones, and should nevertheless hold to the theory of composition, he would assume that such notions as action, quality, adjectival use, agency, collectivity, which are the ideas expressed by most of the oldest suffixes, were developed and received conscious expression in very great number at a very primitive time when discrimination had not yet attained great accuracy, that these primitive peoples felt the need of an extremely large number of words expressing these notions, and that the consciousness of them was so strong as to make it necessary to express the same by composition also in almost every concrete word, a situation plainly unthinkable when compared with the rarity of consciousness of them when actually speaking nowadays.

But how can this last mentioned difficulty be avoided under the assumption that suffixes were due to false abstraction? If these vaguer meanings were the original ones, would it not be just as bad for one theory as the other? I answer 'No' because it seems certain to me that these notions like action,

quality, etc. were in turn not present in the suffixes from the beginning, but they were due to a process of semantic evolution from perfectly meaningless suffixes.¹ To substantiate this proposition one can refer to the fact that most of the simplest formatives like *-o-*, *-i-*, *-u-*, *-io-*, *-uo-*, *-mo-*, *-no-*, *-ro-*, *-lo-*, *-to-*, *-ti-*, etc. were not exclusively used for the formation e. g. of verbal or adjectival abstract nouns or for agent nouns, or for concrete nouns or adjectives, but one and the same suffix formed words of all of such general groups. But if this is true, it is evident that we are in no way justified in assuming that these meanings were consciously connected with the suffixes; for logically any noun can be referred to these general categories, but that is no sign that it actually was referred to them when a suffix occurs in other apparent uses also. Thus I. E. *-mo-* occurs as a primary adjective suffix, e. g. in Gr. θερμός Lat. *formus* O. H. G. *warm* Engl. *warm*; it forms adjectives of characteristic, as Skt. *dyuma-s* 'bright, shining': *dyu-* 'brightness', Gr. ἔτυμος 'true, genuine': ἐτε[ρ]ός; adjectives of appurtenance in Av. *zantuma-* 'belonging to the district': *zantu* 'district'; it forms adjectival abstracts in Lith. *gražūmas* 'beauty': *gražūs* 'beautiful'; verbal abstracts in Skt. *gharmā-s* 'heat', *sārma-s* 'flow', Gr. φλογμός 'burning', πταρμός 'sneezing', Ir. *mām* 'service', Goth. *dōms* 'judgment', Lith. *užmas* 'roaring'; it forms agent nouns in Skt. *yudhmā-s* 'fighter, warrior', Gr. ἄνεμος 'blower, i. e. wind'; instrument nouns in Skt. *idhmā-s* 'fuel': *idh-* 'to burn', Gr. φορμός 'carrying basket': φέρω, O. H. G. *zoum* O. Icel. *taumr* 'bridle': Goth. *tiuhan* 'to draw'; collectives in Gr. δρῦμός 'oak-coppice': δρῦς 'oak', while Skt. *drumā-s* designates an individual tree, as in fact the same suffix *-mo-* forms concrete nouns of great variety in various languages without our being able in any way to arrive at a satisfactory classification. Cf. Skt. *sōma-s* Av. *haoma-* 'juice, soma': Skt. *sunōti* 'he presses', Skt. *tōkma-s* 'young shoot', Gr. κορμός 'block', ὄλμος 'mortar', κάλαμος 'reed', Lat. *culmus* O. H. G. *halm* 'stalk', O. Icel. *halmr* Lett. *salms* 'straw', Lat. *līmus* O. H. G. *slīm* 'slime', O. Engl. *lām* 'clay', Lith. *vaĩmas* 'gnat', *jėszmas* 'spear'. Adding to this the use of *-mo-* in superlatives, which, as Brug-

¹Lindner Ai. Nominalbild. 21 calls attention to the fact that the primary suffixes were originally not differentiated in meaning.

mann Gr. 2. 1². 163 f. has shown, arose from ordinals like **septm-os*: **septm*, analyzed **sept-mos*, in the same way as according to our theory most of the I. E. suffixes originated, we may well say that -*mo-* has so many different meanings that by itself it meant nothing.¹

Just as -*mo-* was prevailingly a primary suffix, yet showed an extended secondary use, so on the contrary -*ko-* was chiefly secondary and nevertheless made quite a variety of primary formations also, and it will therefore be a good example to show the immense diversity in character of words formed by this type also. Thus it forms primary adjectives like Skt. *cuṣkā-s* Av. *huška-* 'dry': Skt. *śuśyati*, Gr. *φαίος* 'bright': *φαιός* 'dusky', O. H. G. *scelah* O. Engl. *sceolh* O. Icel. *skialgr* 'crooked, askance': Gr. *σκολιός* 'crooked', Lith. *at-stokas* 'distant': *stóti*; verbal abstracts in Skt. *clōka-s* 'call, sound': *gr̥hōti* 'he hears', Lett. *spēks* 'power': *spēt* 'be able', O. Blg. *zveķz* 'sound': *zveņēti* 'to sound'; agent nouns in Lith. *žvėjókas* 'fisher': *žvėjóti*, *teriókas* 'destroyer': *terióti*; instrument nouns in Skt. *átka-s* Av. *aθka-* 'dress' if: Ir. *ētim* 'I clothe', O. Bulg. *znakz* 'sign': *znati* 'know'; place names in Skt. *dhāká-s* 'receptacle': *dádhāti* 'he places', O. H. G. *luog* 'hiding-place': Lat. *lateo*, Gr. *λήθω*; it seems to designate appurtenance e. g. in Skt. *mámaka-s* 'mine': Gen. *máma*, *hotraka-s* 'he who belongs to the *hōtrá-m* or sacrifice', i. e. 'priest', Gr. *μαντικός* 'belonging to the prophet': *μάντις*, Lat. *hosticus* 'belonging to an enemy': *hostis*; descent or origin in Skt. *sindhuka-s* 'descended from the Indus (*síndhu-s*)', *urvāruká-m* 'the fruit of the *urvāru-s* (a kind of gourd)', Gr. *φυσικός* 'coming from nature': *φύσις*; material in Skt. *sidhra-s* 'made of *sidhra*-wood', Gr. *ὄστρακον* 'hard shell of testacea': **ostr-*, O. H. G. *trog* M. (O. Icel. *trog* N.) 'wooden vessel, trough' < **dru-ko-*: Skt. *dru-*; possession either of a quality or something material in Skt. *sūctka-s* 'a certain insect with a sting': *sūct* 'sting', *an-ásthaka-s* 'boneless' and Gr. *ὄστακός* 'crab': *asthán-* 'bone', Lat. *tussicus* 'afflicted with a cough': *tussis*, Goth. *stainahs* O. H. G. *steinag* 'stony': Goth. *staina-* 'stone', O. Icel. *kroptugr* 'powerful': **kraftu-* 'power'; characteristic or similarity in Skt. *chattraka-* 'mushroom': *chattra-m* 'parasol', Av. *spaka-* 'dog-like': *span-*

¹ Cf. Brugmann op. cit. 663 on secondary adjectives.

'dog', Gr. *φυσικός* 'natural' as well as 'coming from nature', Lat. *sicilius* 'comma': *sicilis* 'sickle', O. H. G. *snēwag* 'snowy': *snēwa-* 'snow', Lith. *pelėkas* 'mouse-gray': *pelė* 'mouse'. The notion of characteristic can also be read into the suffix in the numerous instances in which it forms substantives from adjectives, e. g. Skt. *pṛthuka-s* 'flattened grain': *pṛthú-ṣ* 'flat', Lith. *slapūkas* 'one who likes to hide himself': *slapūs* 'liking to hide one's self'; also when it forms adjectives from other adjectives without perceptible change of meaning, e. g. Skt. *tānuka-s* O. Blg. *тънѹкѹ* 'thin': Skt. *tanú-ṣ* 'thin', which, like Brugmann op. cit. 504, one might consider as 'having a thin nature'. Similarly, e. g. Skt. *dūraká-s*=*dūrā-s* 'distant'. That, however, these two groups were actually felt in this way because it is possible to conceive them thus, is a point to be proved in view of the fact that the notion of similarity or characteristic is by no means so predominant among the examples where the suffix can be interpreted with certainty as to allow us to refer all doubtful examples to that usage. While therefore Brugmann is undoubtedly right in saying that these notions were characteristic of *-ko-* from I. E. times, it does not follow that the other uses were all to be derived from it, which is demonstrably true only of the diminutive-hypocoristic and deteriorative uses, of which we consequently mentioned no examples in spite of their I. E. origin; for, being secondary developments, they will shed no light on what the suffix ultimately was. On the other hand it should be mentioned that aside from the above categories it occurs in a large number of substantives which were equivalent to their primitives, e. g. Skt. *karkaṭaka-s*=*karkaṭa-s* 'crab', *ástaka-m*=*ásta-m* 'home', Lat. *muscus*=O. H. G. *mos* 'moss', O. H. G. *as-c* O. Icel. *askr* 'ash-tree'=Lith. *u'sis* (with transfer to *i* declension). Adding to all of these the numerous instances in which *-ko-* forms words which cannot be classified at all, either because their suffix seems to carry with it a meaning that is altogether isolated, or because their etymology is obscure (Edgerton JAOS. 31. 124 f. finds 87 unclassifiables in the Vedic alone), and taking account of the fact that the semantic divisions used above were comparatively vague ones, and that therefore each could be still further subdivided into more definite categories, it becomes evident that I. E. *-ko-*

also was in the beginning a meaningless suffix, and that to a large extent it continued meaningless. And the processes which caused such meaning as there was, were the same here as elsewhere: gradual infusion into the suffix of semantic elements which belonged either to the primitive or to the situation without being attached to any phonetic unit, and a continuance of the process of conglutination, by means of which part of the primitive coalescing with the suffix formed a longer suffix in which elements of meaning which were in the beginning accidental were crystallized and made ready for new analogical formations.

If, then, suffixes like *-mo-* and *-ko-*, which themselves are probably partly conglutinations of final stem-consonants with simple vocalic suffixes, are nevertheless practically meaningless, how much more will the same thing be true of the suffixes composed of only a single sound, which have not had the advantage of conglutination to crystallize their meaning? Suffixes like *-o-*, *-ā-*, *-i-*, *-u-*, *-g-*, *-k-*, *-t-*, should have even less of a tendency to develop definite uses. Of these I shall omit the consonantal ones because it is not clear how far they were merely the reduced grade of the same suffix plus vowel, as *-k-* e. g. might be merely the unaccented form of *-ko-* in some words. Of some of the vocalic suffixes, however, I shall give examples to show their wideness of application, giving only an example or two from each category, and practically confining myself to those languages which, like Sanskrit and Greek, are structurally transparent.

Of these I shall take *-o-* and *-ā-* together, as having much the same sphere of usage and standing in intimate relation to each other as being complementaries in gender. I mention the following semantic categories: primary adjectives, as Skt. *çōṣa-s* 'making dry', Gr. *αῖος* Lith. *saūsas* 'dry', with active verbal force, e. g. Skt. *tārā-s*¹ Gr. *τορός* 'penetrating, loud'; substantival agent nouns, as Skt. *çāsā-s*¹ 'commander', Gr. *αἰδός* 'singer'; verbal abstracts, as Skr. *srāva-s* Gr. *ῥόος* 'flow', Gr. *ἔργον* O. Icel. *verk* N. 'work', Skt. *bhujā* 'winding', Gr.

¹That I. E. *-o-* should be accented in agent nouns as opposed to action nouns was no doubt not an original distinction and need not affect us here.

φυγή Lat. *fuga* 'flight'; instrument nouns, as Skr. *jāmbha-s* Gr. γόμφος O. Blg. *zqbz* 'instrument for crushing, tooth': Skt. *jambhāyati* 'he crushes', Skt. *yugā-m* Gr. ζυγόν Lat. *jugum* 'yoke': Lat. *jungo* 'join', Gr. τροφή 'means of support': τρέφω, O. H. G. *bāra* 'bier': *beran* 'carry'; place names in Skt. *vēṣa-s* Gr. οἶκος 'dwelling, house': Skt. *viśāti* 'he enters', Gr. νομή 'pasture': νέμω, O. H. G. *sāza* M. H. G. *sāze* 'seat, dwelling': Goth. *sitan*; collectives, as Skt. *bhrātrā-m* 'brotherhood': *bhrātar-* 'brother', Gr. ἄστρον 'constellation': ἀστήρ 'star', Skt. *tārā* 'constellation': *tār-as* 'stars', Gr. φράτερ 'brotherhood': φράτηρ; adjectival abstracts, as Skt. *satyā-m* 'truth', Gr. μείλιχον 'mildness', Lat. *justum* 'justice', Skt. *jaraṇā* 'decrepitude', O. H. G. *wāra* 'truth'; denominative adjectives and substantives in which it apparently designates appurtenance, as Skt. *pāuṣṇā-s* 'belonging to Pūshan', Skt. *udrā-s* Gr. ὕδρος 'water-animal': ὕδωρ 'water', Gr. πέλεκκον < *πελεκυον 'ax-handle': πέλεκυς 'ax', O. Blg. *srěda* 'middle' ('region of heart'): Gr. κῆρ[δ] 'heart'; descent or origin in Skt. *āṅgirasā-s* 'of the Angiras family', *mānuṣa-s* 'descendant of Manus', Gr. χέλυνον 'tortoise-shell': χέλως 'tortoise', Lat. *pēda* 'food-step': *ped-* 'foot'; material, as Skt. *āyasā-s* 'of metal': *āyas*, *aravā-s* 'made of the wood of the *aratu-*'; possession, as Skt. *paruṣā-s* 'knotty': *pāruṣ-* 'knot', *parṣvā-m* 'side': *pārṣu-ṣ* 'rib', O. Blg. *noga* 'foot': Gr. ὄνυξ 'claw, nail'; characteristic or similarity in Skt. *hāstina-s* 'big as an elephant': *hastin-* 'elephant', O. H. G. *ōri* (stem *ōrja-*) 'ear-like opening': Lith. *ausi-s* 'ear', Gr. γαλέη < *γαλεῖα 'weasel': Skt. *giri-ṣ* 'mouse'. For *-ā-* must be added the extremely common function of designating natural feminine gender, e. g. Skt. *ācvā* Lat. *equa* 'mare': Skt. M. *ācva-s*, etc., Gr. ἐκυρά Lat. *socera* Goth. *swaihrō* 'mother-in-law': Gr. M. ἐκυρός. Both suffixes, moreover, are used with very great freedom to form words which in no way differ semantically from their primitives, e. g. Skt. *phalgavā-s* 'tiny' = *phalgú-ṣ*, *hārīta-s* 'fallow' = *harit-*, *yūṣa-s* *yūṣa-m* 'broth' = *yūṣ-*, Gr. ἰός < *ἰσφο-s 'arrow' = Skt. *iṣu-ṣ*, Lat. *terminu-s* 'boundary' = *termen*, Skt. *kṣīpā* 'finger' = *kṣīp-*, *druhā* 'harm' = *drūh-*, Gr. ψίχη 'crumb' = ψίξ. Adding to these again the unclassifiables, which e. g. in the Lithuanian are so numerous that Leskien Bild. d. Nom. 9, 49 does not try to give a classification according to meaning at all, we

must come to the conclusion that *-o-* and *-ā-* also were originally meaningless suffixes, and that their use in the very beginning spread in precisely the same way as Leskien shows it to do in the Lithuanian, namely by imitation of the complete form of older words ending in these vowels rather than because of a feeling for any meaning of these suffixes. How attenuated that must have been is furthermore shown by their occurrence in various forms of the verb, being used e. g. to form presents as well as aorists, and the absurdity of loading on the thematic vowel a conscious perception of nearly every meaning of which any suffix, verbal or nominal, is capable, has no doubt been of great influence in causing the general acceptance of the idea first announced by Streitberg in his essay "Die Entstehung der Dehnstufe" (IF. 3. 305 ff.), that *-o-* was not a suffix in the ordinary sense, but merely the final of certain dissyllabic roots. The same idea is suggested at least partially for *-ā-* by Brugmann Gr. 2. 1². 148, and more definitely by Hirt Handb.². 343, and since the sphere of usage of the latter is so strikingly similar to *-o-*, similarity of origin is the conclusion to which we are inevitably led.

Approximately the same conditions hold good for *-i-*, except that it never was a suffix of such great productivity, that a far larger per cent. of words formed with it shows no suffixal meaning at all, and therefore there was a smaller number of apparent semantic categories, so that it gives a glimpse of a state of affairs closer to its ultimate origin. It forms primary adjectives like Skt. *bhīmi-ṣ* 'lively': *bhramati* 'he wanders, flutters', Gr. *τρόφης* 'well-fed, stout': *τρέφω*, with active verbal force e. g. Skt. *ba-bhri-ṣ* 'carrying': *bhāratī* 'he carries'; substantival agent nouns, as Skt. *sādi-ṣ* 'sitter, rider': *sad-* 'sit', Gr. *τρέχης* 'runner, messenger': *τρέχω*; verbal abstracts, as Skt. *vāni-ṣ* 'desire': *vānati*, Gr. *δῆψ* 'combat': *δέπω*, Lith. *kritiṣ* 'fall': *krintù kṛisti*; instrument nouns, as Skt. *va-vri-ṣ* 'cover, garment': *vṛṇōti* 'he covers', O. H. G. *scār* 'pair of scissors': *sceran* 'shear', O. Blg. *vodo-nosb* 'vessel for carrying water': *nesti* 'carry'; place names, as Skt. *ājī-ṣ* 'race-course': *ājati* 'he drives', O. Blg. *vodo-točb* 'water-course, canal': *tešti* 'run, flow'. As a secondary suffix *-i-* comes very close to being one into which it is impossible even to read a meaning. As far as substantives derived from substantives

are concerned, they are all merely extensions of previously existing substantives with the same meaning, merely a transfer to the *i*-declension. Thus Skt. *nákti-s* Lith. *naktis* 'night' = Skt. *nákt-* Gr. *νύξ -κτός* Lat. *nox -ctis* Goth. *nahts*, Skt. *dr̥śi-s* 'sight' = *dr̥ś-*, *ṣuni-s* 'dog' = *ṣvā*, Pruss. *sunis* 'dog' = Lith. *szū*, Lat. *nāvis* 'ship' = Gr. *ναῦς*. That it is possible for such a meaningless secondary suffix to develop the semantic types that are otherwise so common, is shown by the Balto-Slavic. The Slavic forms by means of our suffix adjectival abstracts like *zelen̥* 'greenness': *zelen̥* 'green', *topl̥* 'warmth': *topl̥* 'warm', and collectives like *čed̥* 'people': *čedo* 'child'. In the Lithuanian, moreover, we find the isolated *avišis* 'dragon-fly': *avišā* 'oats', in which *-i-* is a suffix of appurtenance, and *rankis* 'sign-board': *rankā* 'hand', in which it seems to designate either similarity or possession.

If now one who believes in the compositional origin of suffixes would argue that it is unfair to use as examples suffixes of such great productivity, in which gradual spread of meaning was to be expected, but that the unproductive suffixes would tell a different story, he could be answered in several ways. In the first place he lost sight of the fact that it is not only the bewildering variety of the usages of the individual suffixes that argues against the composition theory, but the fact that all the less vague and more concrete uses are demonstrably later developments. Then too it is important that while one or the other of these formatives may be more productive in a particular direction than others, yet on the whole the principal suffixal meanings are common to nearly all of the simpler ones which have not been limited by repeated conglutinations. To hold to the composition theory in spite of this, would mean to believe that an immense number of words with greatly varying phonetic aspects all meant the same thing and all remained alive and in such frequent use that they could be perpetuated in the suffixes. In the next place, even if we do find a suffix of narrow productivity which shows a unified meaning, that is by no means an objection against our theory; for if all words in a given formative are made after one and the same pattern, the chances are that its influence will work the same way on all of the derivatives, and in this way could be explained what the composition theory cannot

explain, namely why even such narrow unified groups should show meanings like action, agency, instrumentality, appurtenance, etc., instead of the vivid meanings we should expect from individual words at a time when so few compounds had been formed by them that there could not have been much branching out. This can be illustrated by the Skt. suffix *-vi-*, which has no counterpart in other languages, and the origin of which we can trace under our very eyes. It is most certain in two verbal adjectives: *jāgrvi-ṣ* 'waking': *jāgārti* 'wakes' and *dādhryvi-ṣ* 'sustaining': *dharati* 'sustains'. They were undoubtedly patterned after *dīdiv-i-ṣ* 'shining': *dīvyati* 'shines', in which the *v* belongs to the root but might be taken with the suffix *-i-*. The close association of the three words presupposed is shown not only by the suffix and by their belonging to the same type of verbal adjective, but also by their similarity of formation otherwise: the strong accented reduplication before the weak unaccented root. Of the other three words in *-vi-* mentioned by Whitney Skt. Gram. p. 452, *ghṛṣvi-ṣ* 'lively' is plainly an *i*-extension of *ghṛṣu-ṣ* with the same meaning, and *dhruvi-ṣ* 'firm' arose by transfer of *dhruvā-ṣ* 'firm' to the *i*-declension. After the latter, however, was patterned the opposite *jīr-vi-ṣ* 'worn out': *jīryati* 'grows old'. Cases of this kind are very far, then, from supporting the theory of composition, but do rather the opposite, and our suffix *-vi-* is particularly instructive because it shows how divergence of formation as well as meaning can be explained by origin from more than one word even in a formative whose productivity has not exceeded three or four words.

Just to show that the I. E. suffixes, even when their productivity is very limited, may yet display the same general types of usage as the more frequent ones, I will give examples of *-mi-* and *-dhro-*, which certainly are among the rarer ones. The former is found in two primary adjectives: Skt. *krúdhmi-ṣ* 'wrathful': *krúdhya* 'is angry' and Av. *dāmi-ṣ* 'creating': Skt. *dādhāti*. The latter is also an agent substantive, as may also be the Skt. feminine *bhūmi-ṣ* 'earth' (: *bhāvati*), originally 'the producer'? It forms verbal abstracts in Av. *staomi-ṣ* 'song of praise': Skt. *stāūti* 'praises', Gr. *φῆμῆς* 'talk, report': *φῆμῆς*; an instrument noun doubtless in Skt. *raçmi-ṣ* 'reins', though it is doubtful whether it can be con-

nected with Lith. *riszù* 'bind'. In Goth. *haims* 'village' (: Gr. *κείμει*?) it forms a place name, and the association of a similar sound as well as the connection of both being parts of the body caused the pair Goth. *arms* 'arm' and *barms* 'lap'. A larger congeneric group is composed of words meaning 'worm', of which I mention Skt. *kṛmi-* Lith. *kirmis*, Lat. *vermis* Goth. *waúrms* O. H. G. *wurm*, and Gr. *ἔλμυς* 'intestinal-worm'. This is certainly a wide divergence of meaning for a suffix which covers less than a page in Brugmann's Grundriss.

I. E. *-dhro-* occurs in the primary adjectives Av. *maqdra-* 'intelligent, wise' <**mendh-dhro-* or **mondh-dhro-*: Lith. *mandras* and Gr. *σκυθρός* 'angry' <**σκυσθρός*: *σκούζομαι*. It forms the substantival agent noun Gr. *μυλωθρός* 'miller': *μύλωθρον* 'mill'; verbal abstracts, as Gr. *λύθρον* 'defilement', *ὄλεθρος* 'ruin', Lat. *flābrum* 'blowing of the wind'; instrument nouns, as Gr. *κόρηθρον* 'broom': *κορέω* 'sweep', Lat. *cribrum* 'sieve': *cerno*; place names, as Gr. *βάθρον* 'pedestal, foundation': *βαίνω* 'walk, step', Lat. *dēlūbrum* 'place of purification': *dēluo*. As a secondary suffix it appears to designate appurtenance in Lat. *candēlābrum* 'candle-stick': *candēla* 'candle' and O. Blg. *noz-dri* 'nostrils': Skt. *nas-ā* 'nose' (Instr. Sing.).

Once more, then, the fact that the simpler suffixes show in the oldest strata of words formed with them no meanings except vague general ones like adjectival use, agency, action, quality, etc., and that different ones of these are not characteristic of different suffixes, but rather all of them show the same or similar combinations of meaning, points to the inevitable conclusion that these notions were in the beginning not at all connected with the suffixes themselves, but were rather due to the entire situation in which a word was placed, and only gradually did the suffix become their exponent. This becomes still clearer when we examine the primitive root-nouns, in which any analysis is of course impossible, in the sense that part of the meaning was attributed to the root and part to the ending; for there was no ending except a case-ending. And yet these root-nouns show the very same types of use as do nouns ending in stem-suffixes, i. e. those classified as primary, for a secondary formation necessarily presupposes at least one

suffix, which would put the same outside of the category of root-nouns. The latter are primary adjectives with passive force e. g. in Skt. *yúj-* 'yoked together', particularly in compounds like Skt. *ṛtanāj-*, i. e. *ṛtanā-áj-* 'driven to battle', Gr. ἀπο-πρώξ 'torn off'; with active force e. g. Skt. *vṛdh-* 'gladdening', *dṛç-* 'seeing', Gr. πρώξ -κός 'crouching, timid', or compounds like Skt. *vṛtra-hán-* 'slaying Vṛtra', Gr. ψενσί-στυξ 'hating lies'. We find them as substantival agent-nouns in Skt. *rāj-* Lat. *rēx* *rēg-is* Ir. *rī rīg* 'ruler': Lat. *regere*, Skt. *dā-* 'giver', Gr. κλώψ -πός 'thief': κλέπτω 'steal', Lat. *dux -cis* 'leader': *dūco*; as verbal abstracts in Skt. *drúh-* 'offence, injury' = Av. *drūj-*, Gr. στυξ -γός 'hatred', Lat. *prex prec-is* 'prayer'; as instrument nouns in Av. *dər²z-* 'bond, fetter', and Gr. δράξ δρα-κός 'hand': δράσσομαι 'grasp', also Lat. *frūx frūg-is* 'fruit': *fruor* 'enjoy myself', Gr. χέρ-νυψ 'water for washing the hands': νίπτω 'wash'; as place names in Skt. *viç-* 'settlement': *viçāti* 'settles', *kṣā-s* 'dwelling-place': *kṣēti* 'he dwells', Osc. *trībúm* F., Acc. Sing., and *tríbud* Abl. Sing. 'house': Umbr. *trebeit* 'versatur'. It is furthermore interesting to note that the process of attraction of congeneric words, which has so often caused suffixes to appear as the exponents of concrete categories, was at work here also, though no single part of the word could be singled out as being the carrier of this common semantic element. I mention two such groups which have assumed such proportions that accidental similarity of formation is out of the question. To I. E. times belongs a large list of words designating parts of the body: **pēd- *pōd-* 'foot' = Skt. *pāt pad-ás*, Gr. Dor. πώς ποδ-ός, Lat. *pēs ped-is*; **nās- *nas-* 'nose' = Skt. Du. *nās-ā*, O. Eng. *nos-u nas-u*, Lat. Acc. Sing. *nār-em*; **ōus- *us-* 'ear' = Av. *uš-i* and O. Blg. *uš-i* Neutr. Du. Lith. *aus-i* Fem. Du., Gr. ὠς < *ō[u]s; similarly various words for the two eyes: Skt. *akṣ-ī* Av. *aš-i* N., O. Blg. *oč-i* N. and Lith. *ak-ī* F., Gr. ὄσσε < *okṣje; two groups meaning 'heart': Gr. κῆρ < *κηρδ, Lat. *cor cord-is*, Lith. Gen. Pl. *szird-ū*, and Skt. *hṛd-*, Av. Instr. *zər²d-ā*; I. E. **bhrū- *bhruu-* = Skt. *bhrū-ṣ* Gr. ὀφρῦ-ς O. Eng. *brú* 'eye-brow'; **ō[u]s* 'mouth' = Skt. *ās-*, Av. *āh-*, Lat. *ōs ōr-is*; **gḥer-* 'hand' = Arm. Nom. Pl. *jeṛ-k*, Gr. Dat. *χερ-ί, χερ-σί*. To these was added in later times the Av. Du. F. *suši* 'lungs', Gr. θρίξ τριχός 'hair', and the above mentioned

Gr. *δράξ* 'hand'. It is evident that these words were not all associated to the same intimate degree, e. g. the words for eye-brow had perhaps have rather been left out, while on the other hand the relation of the duals for eye, ear, and nose is so intimate as to make mutual influence certain.

A second congeneric group consisting of names of animals also started in I. E. times, but became particularly productive in the Greek. Among the older words are I. E. **g^hōu-* **g^hou-* 'ox, cow' = Skt. *gāu-*, Av. *gāu-*, Gr. *βοῦς*, Lat. *bōs*, Ir. *bō* 'cow', O. H. G. *chuo* 'cow'; **sū-* 'pig, sow' = Gr. *ῥῆς*, Lat. *sūs*, O. H. G. *sū*; Gr. *ἰχθῦς* 'fish': Lith. Gen. Pl. *žuv-*; **mūs-* 'mouse' = Skt. *mūṣ-*, Gr. *μῦς*, Lat. *mūs*, O. H. G. *mūs*; Gr. *θῆρ* 'animal': Lith. *žvėrīs* O. Blg. *zvěrb* 'wild animal' and Lat. *ferus* 'wild'; Gr. *χῆρ χηρ-ός* Lat. *ēr ēr-is* 'hedge-hog'. Greek shows the following new words of this group: *κῖς κί-ός* 'weevil', *δόρξ -κός* 'gazelle': *δέρκομαι, κρέξ* 'a kind of bird': *κρέκω, τρώξ -γός* 'worm': *τρώγω* 'gnaw', *πτώξ -κός* 'hare': *πτώσσω* 'crouch', *σκνίψ* 'a kind of ant': *σκνίπτω* 'pinch', *σκόψ -πός* 'owl': *σκέπτομαι* 'look', *θώς* 'jackal': *θέω* 'run'. In Latin the similar *strix strig-is* 'screech-owl': Gr. *τρίζω* 'screech'. Of the new Greek words it is to be noticed that all except *κῖς* are agent nouns related to existing Greek verbs, and it is therefore possible that they were patterned after one or more of these rather than after the I. E. names of animals. However that may be, they illustrate the power of association in congeneric words without suffix in exactly the same way.

In Gothic we no doubt have a solitary case of congeneric attraction in the Gen. Sing. *alhs* of *alhs* 'temple', which was due to the influence of the older *baúrgs*, Gen. *baúrgs*, 'castle'.

From the psychological point of view every unanalyzable or rather every unanalyzed word of every period of the language is on the same basis as a root-word; for without such analysis into primitive stem and suffix it is impossible to attribute to the latter any meaning whatsoever, no matter what may have been true of the origin of the word. This applies in the first place to words whose suffixes have disappeared through phonetic processes, as have *-o-* and *-i-* in many forms of the Germanic languages. It is clearly impossible to burden I. E. *-o-* with the notion of instrumentality in Goth. *juk* O. H. G. *joh* Eng. *yoke*: Lat. *jungo* 'join', or *-i-* with the notion of

action in German *Schlag* 'blow', or the former with being considered as a suffix forming names of animals in Goth. *wulfs* O. H. G. *wolf* Engl. *wolf*=Skt. *vik-a-s*, when the speakers of these languages were blissfully ignorant of the past existence of these vowels. The same impossibility of analysis is present whenever the derivation of a word is forgotten or not attended to, and here we may call attention to the fact that the demonstrably oldest stratum of I. E. words, which must to a large degree have been the patterns for the younger ones, very largely consists of words whose derivation cannot now be traced and probably was unknown then, so that the feeling of the suffix expressing a relation to the root-part of the word is out of the question. Cf. such words as the above mentioned I. E. **ulko-s* 'wolf', **oui-s* Skt. *avi-s* 'sheep', **peku* Skt. *pācu* 'animal', **bhāgo-s* Lat. *fāgus* 'beech', **bhāghu-s* Gr. *πῆχυς* 'elbow', **suesor* Skt. *svāsar-* 'sister', **ōmo-s* Skt. *āmā-s* 'raw'. These words were not at all interpreted differently from the extremely numerous words which became obscure as to derivation through the loss of the primitive or such phonetic or semantic changes as prevented recognition of the primitive, even when the etymology may be clear to the linguist, such words as German *Acker* Engl. *acre*: Lat. *ago*, or Germ. *Ross* Engl. *horse*: Lat. *curro* 'run'. Yet all these unanalyzable words, just as the original root-nouns, can be assigned to similar categories as those with clear etymology; for every word logically must belong to one or more such categories.

In view, then, of these facts we must conclude that it is rash in every instance to connect with the suffix the idea of these general categories in words which are clear etymologically; for if Gr. *βοῦς* can designate an animal without formal characterization of that fact, it is rash to conclude that in *λύκ-o-s* 'wolf' the notion of being an animal was connected with its suffix, unless there are very distinct indications of it in a tendency to confine new words to names of animals or at least to make them noticeably preponderant.

Similarly the fact that Gr. *στέξ* 'hatred' and Lat. *prex* 'prayer' are verbal abstracts though not ending in a suffix, prevents us from assuming that words like Gr. *φυγή* Lat. *fuga* 'flight' or Skt. *nr̥t-i-s* 'dance' were in the earliest types

analyzed so as to connect the notion of action with the suffix. To do so in case of the simple vocalic suffixes was all the more difficult because from I. E. times onward the oblique cases had so often suffered contraction with the inflectional endings that the only psychic attitude possible to such a combination was the feeling that it was in its entirety merely a case ending, a fact amply proved by the division by the Latin grammarians of their nouns into five declensions according to the different stem-suffixes, not in the least thinking that the combination of the latter with the case-endings should be analyzed into two parts. The process culminating in the modern Germanic languages, in which many original stem-suffixes like the *-en* of the German weak declension are now felt purely and simply as case-endings, had begun in the Latin and no doubt in the Indo-European, so that we may well doubt whether these simple vocalic suffixes ever were consciously felt as being the exponent of any of these ideas with which grammatical analysis has burdened them. Having gone this far, we can now go one step further and maintain that also the other suffixes which do not lose their identity by contractions, as e. g. *-mo-*, *-ro-*, *-ko-*, *-bho-*, *-nu-*, *-ti-*, *-en-on-*, *-es-* *-os-*, which show the same perpetually recurring types of usage, were not originally associated with them, but they developed such connection by long processes of association and discrimination.

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(*To be Continued.*)

IV.—MIMNERMUS AND PROPERTIUS.

A few years ago Wilamowitz¹ set forth the theory that Mimnermus was an important model for the Cynthia book of Propertius.² This idea, supported as it was by the weight of Wilamowitz's great name, has been received with much favor by students of Roman Elegy. Of half a dozen reviewers of his book, one³ speaks favorably of his conclusions in this article, and none of the others offers any opposition. In spite of the almost universal acceptance of his views, the grounds upon which he rests his case are, in my judgment, utterly insufficient;

¹"Mimnermos und Properz", published in the Sitzungsberichte d. k. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., 1912, I, pp. 100-122: republished with (rather important but unmarked) changes in his "Sappho und Simonides", Berlin, 1913, pp. 276-304. In this paper references are by pages of the later edition.

²His words are (pp. 303 f.): "Unter deren Vorbilder rechne ich nun den Mimnermos und schlage seine Bedeutung für Properz hoch an, obgleich ich keine direkte Berührung zu zeigen weisz. Die Cynthia hat dadurch sofort einen entschiedenen Erfolg gehabt, dasz sie das Leben schilderte, das Properz trieb, mit seinen Freunden und seinem Mädchen. Ein solches Lebensbild bot auch die Nanno des Mimnermos. Die Bücher waren so verschieden wie das Kolophon des Alyattes von dem Rom des Augustus; aber Properz empfand, dasz er als Dichter zum Leben stand wie Mimnermos und benannte sein Buch Cynthia nach dem Vorbilde der Nanno. Und die Gedichtbücher hatten auch mehr verwandtes als den Titel, atmeten sie doch beide denselben *φιλήδονος βίος*:"

τίς δὲ βίος, τί δὲ τερπνὸν ἄτερ χροσῆς Ἀφροδίτης;
laus in amore mori".

³J. Mesk, in Berl. phil. Woch. 34 (1914), col. 167. The other reviews are: Athenaeum 1913, I, pp. 212 f.; J. Sitzler, in Woch. f. klass. Phil. 32 (1915), coll. 73 ff.; Bayr. Bl. 50 (1914), pp. 452 f.; Litt. Zentralb. 65 (1914), coll. 101 ff.; Class. Phil. 8 (1913), pp. 361 ff. (Shorey). Professor Harrington also concurs (Elegiac Poets, Introd. p. 17) But Professor Wheeler in A. J. P. 36 (1915), p. 159, n. 1, says: "Wilamowitz exaggerates, it seems to me, the influence of Mimnermus". I take this opportunity to acknowledge my debt to Professor Duane Reed Stuart, of Princeton, to whose suggestion this article is due, and who agrees in the main with its conclusions. [Compare also Prof. Gildersleeve's review of Wilamowitz, A. J. P. 33 (1912), 361 ff., which was published before any of the reviews cited above.—C. W. E. M.]

and it is the purpose of this paper to show wherein he fails to substantiate his claims.

The proper point of departure for such an argument must always be the writings of the two authors concerned. The fragments of Mimnermus that have come down to us are unfortunately very meager; but they are all we have to go on except the testimony of later classical writers. Wilamowitz by no means confines himself to the fragments; in fact, he makes little use of them in proving his point, and depends much upon the impression made upon him by remarks of Hermesianax and the Augustan writers. These, it seems to me, he stretches into meaning more than they say. Let us examine in detail these two lines of evidence.

The fragments of Mimnermus treat of love, especially stolen love (fr. 1)¹; old age, the bane of man's existence (1-5, perhaps 6); the unfaithful wife and the jealous revenge of her deceived husband (22). Fr. 11 tells of the travels of Jason, which might have been the myth illustrating the journey of a faithless mistress or of the lover himself when called away. Further mythological allusions appear in fr. 18, of a certain Daetes of Troy; in 19, of Niobe; in 21, of the story of Ismene and Theoclymenus; and in 22, of Diomedes and his wife. The ceaseless toiling of the sun, fr. 12, might perhaps have been connected with the toil needed to win and hold a lady's affections. If fr. 8 is a portion of a conversation between the lover and his lass, it may parallel the protestations of eternal fidelity in the Roman poet, and the prayer that they may love while they are young and still be models of affection when they are old and gray.²

This is all the evidence furnished by the extant fragments. The testimonia add something. Of these the most important is Hermesianax fr. 3 Hartung.³ In these lines he is said to have

¹The numbers of the fragments are those in the fourth edition of Bergk's "Poetae Lyrici Graeci", vol. 2, Berlin, 1882. I have tried to read into these fragments every possible elegiac motif, in order not to overlook any possible points of contact with Propertius. Some will probably seem far-fetched.

²Prop. 1. 19. 25 f.; Tibull. 1. 1. 69, 1. 6. 85 f.

³Lines 35-40:

Μίμνερμος δέ, τὸν ἤδ' ὅς εὔρετο πολλὸν ἀνατλάς
ἤχον καὶ μαλακοῦ πνεῦμ' ἀπὸ πενταμέτρου,

"burned for Nanno", held revels with Examyes, and hated Hermobius and Pherecles. If the emended reading *μοιχῶ κνήμην θείς* in 37 f. is correct, it would show that he wrote of his triumphs over his rival. Unfortunately it is exceedingly doubtful, and Wilamowitz himself does not adopt this reading. In Alexander of Aetolia fr. 3 Hartung,¹ which concerns Mimnermus, is a reference to boy-love; it appears also from this poem that Mimnermus wrote of shoemakers and shameless thieves and robbers,² and suffered many misfortunes. This means, of course, that he pictured low life—the life of his own class, as Wilamowitz points out.³ The other important testimonia are Propertius 1. 9. 11,⁴ which really says no more than that in affairs of the heart love poetry helps more than epic, and Horace Epist. 2. 2. 99 ff.⁵ Here Horace does not mention Propertius, but the reference seems unmistakable. Just how much it means is an open question. Wilamowitz lays a good deal of emphasis upon it, though he thinks it is ironical; that Horace realized fully the gulf separating Propertius from the classical Greek poets, but tickled his friend's vanity by the

*καίετο μὲν Ναννοῦς, πολὺ δ' ἐπὶ πολλάκι μοιχῶ
κνήμην θεὸς κόμους εἶχε σὺν Ἐξαμύῃ.
δήχθη δ', Ἑρμόβιον τὸν αἰὲ βαρὺν ἡδὲ Φερεκλῆν
ἐχθρὸν μισήσας, οἱ ἀνέπεμψεν ἔπη.*

So Hartung. Wilamowitz reads, with one MS, *λωτῇ κημωθείς*. The other MSS have *μωτωκημωθείς*. See Hartung's critical note.

¹ οὗς Ἀγαθοκλῆος λάσσαι φρένες ἤλασαν ἔξω
πατρίδος, ἀρχαίων ἦν δδ' ἀνὴρ προγόνων,
εἰδὼς ἐκ νεότητος αἰὲ ξείνοισιν ὀμιλεῖν
ξείνος, Μιμνέρμου δ' εἰς ἔπος ἄκρον ἰὼν
5 παιδομανεῖ σὺν ἔρωτι κατήνυσεν· ἔγραφε δ' ὦν ἦρ
εὐ παρ' Ὀμηρείην ἀγλαίην ἐπέων
πιστῶν γούτος ἢ φῶρας ἀναιδέας ἢ τινα χλοῦν ἦν
φλύων ἀνθηρῇ σὺν κακοειμονίῃ,
τοῖα Συρακοσίοις καὶ ἔχον χάριν· ὅς δὲ Βοιωτοῦ
ἔκλυεν, Εὐβοίῃ τέρπεται οὐδ' ὀλίγον.

² Or perhaps there is a reference to wild boars; the meaning of *χλοῦν* is uncertain. See the lexicon.

³ L. c., p. 278.

⁴ Plus in amore valet Mimnermi versus Homero.

⁵ Discedo Alcaeus puncto illius, ille meo quis?
Quis nisi Callimachus? Si plus adposcere visus,
fit Mimnermus, et optivo cognomine crescit.

remark. Wilamowitz says: ¹ "Das *optimum cognomen* war eine treffende Bosheit, um so treffender, wenn Properz oder seine Bewunderer ihn als neuen Mimnermos gegen den neuen Alkaïos ausspielten". There is nothing in Propertius, however, to support this view, and this fact deprives the argument of weight. Since Propertius described himself ² as the Roman Callimachus, it seems hardly probable that modesty or any other motive would have caused him to leave unexpressed his aspirations to be a Roman Mimnermus. His own attitude has more value than that of his friends, as to which in any case we can form no opinion. It is probable that the words merely show a joking attempt to balance the name Alcaeus with one of equal antiquity and honor in the other field, rather than with that of an Alexandrian.

It appears, then, that Mimnermus wrote of love, especially stolen love; the banefulness of old age; infidelity, deception of a husband, and his jealous vengeance; his own revelry and enmity, boy-love, low life, and the sorrows of this world. Perhaps he touched also upon travel, fidelity, and toiling to win love. It is possible, too, that his rival's defeat formed a topic. We shall now see to what extent Propertius and Tibullus dealt with these themes; the reason for including Tibullus will be evident as the argument progresses. I have limited myself to the first book of each author, as these two books were published almost simultaneously,³ and there is little possibility of one's having influenced the other, as might have been the case with later books. Moreover, Wilamowitz is considering only the first book of Propertius.

It needs no search to find our first topic in the Roman Elegiac writers; love is of course the business of the Elegists.⁴ Stolen love, however, is not a subject of Propertius; he is open in his

¹ L. c., p. 288.

² 4. I. 64.

³ Schanz, Röm. Lit. II, I², pp. 253, 225 f., says Propertius published his first book not after 28 B. C., and Tibullus probably in 26. Professor Kirby Smith, Tibullus, p. 58, n. 1, says: "The first book of Propertius . . . was perhaps published soon after October of 28, the first book of Tibullus . . . about a year later".

⁴ It is interesting that Jacoby, Rhein. Mus. 60 (1905), p. 44, says that Mimnermus did not treat of love as Roman Elegy did; not of passion for an individual, but of love itself.

passion for Cynthia.¹ Turning to Tibullus, we find several instances of it; e. g. 1. 2. 15 ff.; 1. 5. 7, 75; 1. 6. 5 f., 16 ff.; 1. 8. 35, 57; 1. 9. 23, 55; the first two and 1. 8. 57 deal with the poet's own intrigues, and the rest with those of others.

The worst bugbear of Mimnermus is old age. Propertius makes no allusion to this topic. The words *canities* and *senecta* occur once each, while *canus*, *senex*, and *senectus* do not appear. In Tibullus, however, the motif is common: cf. 1. 1. 71 f.; 1. 2. 89 ff.; 1. 4. 31 f.; 1. 6. 77 ff.; 1. 8. 41 f., 50; 1. 9. 74.

Infidelity, with the deception of husbands and their consequent jealousy and revenge, the probable topic of fr. 22 of Mimnermus, is touched on in Prop. 1. 8, and in 1. 11, but does not form an important subject. The word *coniunx*, even in its elegiac or "Pickwickian" sense, does not appear in the Cynthia book except in the fifteenth elegy, where it refers to the husbands of mythological heroines; and the ladies mentioned were above deception. Only Tibullus again has anything to say of the infidelity of wives and the deception of elegiac husbands: e. g. 1. 2. 19 ff., 41 ff.; 1. 6. 8, 15 ff.; 1. 9. 53 ff. (a long passage), 71 f. Even he does not introduce the husband's jealousy and vengeance; the poor husband is always blind. If the passage in Mimnermus was intended as a warning to Nanno of what happened to ladies who were untrue to their lovers, it would suggest a theme that occurs in both Propertius and Tibullus; e. g. Prop. 1. 12, Tibull. 1. 6, etc.

Revelry is the subject of the opening lines of Prop. 1. 3, but it is only mentioned in passing, as it were, as a prelude to the scene that follows. Another parallel is perhaps found in Tibull. 1. 5. 37 ff.

Personal hatred does not appear in Propertius, and Tibullus develops it at only one place (1. 9. 53 ff., against a successful rival).

The subject of boy-love is not found in the first book of Propertius. Tibullus treats the topic in the fourth, eighth and ninth elegies of book one.

In a sense, the life that is portrayed in the elegy is almost all low life; but we find in these two books no trace of the description of low life as it seems to have appeared in Mimnermus.

¹ A possible but doubtful case is 1. 16. 20.

We see in them rather the lowest side of the life of the rich and profligate young Roman.

The sorrows of this world are often the theme of the elegiac poets; cf. the first, eighth, twelfth, eighteenth and other elegies of the Cynthia, and the second, fourth (at the end), fifth, ninth and other elegies of Tibullus's first book.

We have now discussed those motifs which were surely represented in Mimnermus. Of those which he may have had, travel is common in Propertius; e. g. 1. 6; 1. 8; 1. 17; also 1. 1. 29 f.; 1. 12. 11; 1. 20. 18 ff. The last uses the same myth as that employed by Mimnermus (the Argonautic expedition). Tibullus 1. 3 seems to be the only instance in that writer.

Fidelity between lovers one might expect to be a favorite motif. This is borne out by the instances in both Propertius and Tibullus. Propertius has it in 1. 1. 35 f.; 1. 2. 24, 31 f.; 1. 4; 1. 8. 21; 1. 12. 20; 1. 15. 29 ff.; 1. 18. 11 f.; 1. 19. 11. In Tibullus we find it at 1. 3. 83; 1. 6. 67, 75 f., 85 f.

Enduring toil to win love is less common in both. Propertius uses the motif once only, 1. 1. 9 ff. Tibullus also has but one example, 1. 4. 47 ff.

Defeat of a rival is told of triumphantly in Prop. 1. 8b, and possibly in Tibull. 1. 6. 28.

To recapitulate: of ten motifs (omitting the general topic of love) that were certainly handled by Mimnermus, only three, infidelity, revelry, and the sorrows of life, appear in Propertius; and two of these only seldom and usually in a rather incidental manner; while Tibullus uses eight (all except low life and the husband's jealous revenge); of these, revelry and probably personal hatred are not quite certain. The four doubtful motifs (one, according to our evidence, improbable) are all used by both elegists; but two (toiling for love and defeat of a rival) appear only once in each (the latter doubtful for Tibullus), and the others are more common in Propertius, especially the travel motif, of which Tibullus has but one instance. So far, then, as the evidence of their works and the testimonia goes, the influence of Mimnermus upon Propertius was very slight. In fact, on this score a better case might be made out for Tibullus than for Propertius.

We turn now to the consideration of some of the arguments used by Wilamowitz to support his assertion. His chief reliance

is the title Cynthia, which is like the title Nanno, the only one found in connection with ancient citations from Mimnermus. He argues ¹ that, since Propertius felt that as a poet he bore the same relation to life as Mimnermus, he called his book the Cynthia after the model of the Nanno. As to that, it is very evident that Cynthia filled the book, as she filled the life, of Propertius; it is not so clear that this was the case with Nanno and Mimnermus, even though we read in Hermesianax that he burned for her; that the two poets bore the same relation to life is rather an arbitrary assertion of an opinion than an established fact. Moreover, in his article ² Wilamowitz gives the titles of many other works which the authors named for their wives or mistresses. It was quite common to assign such names to poems or books. Some of the Idyls of Theocritus and Eclogues of Vergil are cases in point. And among books named for a lady-love or a favorite we know of the Cynus, Lyde, Bittis and Leontium, as well as the Nanno. It is going too far to bar any of these because it is named for a wife. One would hesitate to couple a wife's name thus with that of another poet's mistress,³ but the argument is hardly reversible. The number of books similarly named is too great to admit of any argument in support of the claim that in the choice of a name for his book Propertius was primarily influenced by the name of the work of Mimnermus.

One more feature of Roman Elegy that points, in the opinion of Wilamowitz,⁴ to *classical* Greek elegy is the lingering and reflection upon one's own emotions. It is true that we do not find this element in what we have left of the works of Callimachus and Philetas,⁵ but no more does it exist in the fragments of Mimnermus. Moreover, another and a nearer source is not far to seek. The epyllion is full of the analysis of the feelings.

¹ L. c., p. 304

² L. c., pp. 287 ff.

³ This is the reason given by Wilamowitz (and earlier by Pohlenz, *Xápires*, 1911, p. 112, n. 2) for the belief that Bittis was the wife, not the mistress, of Philetas; cf. Ovid, *Trist.* i. 6. 1 ff.

⁴ L. c., p. 302.

⁵ This spelling has been defended by Bechtel in *Genethliakon für Robert, Berlin, 1910*, p. 73, against Crönert, who supported the form Philitas in *Herm.* 37 (1902), pp. 213 ff.

Not the poet's own feelings, indeed; but given this practice, and the fondness for expressing one's own passions, so common in epigram, the combination of the two is an easy step. Furthermore, the monologue of the drama is an excellent example of the same tendency;¹ and Wilamowitz admits the drama as a source.²

While advancing the claims of Mimnermus as an important model for Propertius, Wilamowitz belittles the influence of a number of other writers who have usually been rated high. For instance, he says³ that, while Propertius may have found material in the *Aitia* of Callimachus, yet this work contained nothing that bore on Callimachus's own love affairs, and that this evidence appeared only in his epigrams. As Propertius admittedly⁴ made use of epigram as a source, Wilamowitz is not advancing any argument at all against the value of Callimachus to Propertius, and this fact which he points out should weigh very little in comparison with the repeated allusions to Callimachus in Propertius, of which more later. Philetas, another elegist whom Propertius professed to follow, is dismissed with these words:⁵ "Den spindeldürren Stubengelehrten Philitas als Vorbild des Erotikers Properz kann ich dagegen kaum ernst nehmen. . . . Ich weiss nicht, wie Philitas war, und was er taugte, aber dem Theokrit ähnlich, von Mimnermos und Properz ganz verschieden denk ich ihn mir". Of Philetas more will be said later. With regard to Antimachus, the fragments of the *Lyde* offer little evidence that would induce us to regard him as an important source. Mythological elements appear in many (e. g. 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 20),⁶ but in none at great length. Fr. 12 introduces the love motif. Fr. 17, which is perhaps not genuine, deals with the question why Aphrodite bears arms. Several may be connected with the subject of travel; e. g. those on the Argonautic expedition. Fragment 11

¹ Cf. Eur. Med. 1021-1080.

² L. c., p. 303.

³ L. c., pp. 288 f.

⁴ L. c., pp. 298, 302 f.

⁵ L. c., p. 290.

⁶ The numbers are those of Hartung, *Die griechischen Elegiker*, Leipzig, 1859. Several of these fragments refer to the Argonauts, and are cited by the scholiast on Apollonius.

deals with magic; number 4 mentions a beautiful goblet, and is suggestive of carousing. Not a trace of subjective erotic elegy appears in the fragments. But the subjective element may well have been in the introduction, from which nothing seems to have survived. Furthermore, the fact that both Callimachus and Catullus¹ put a ban upon Antimachus shows that he was not well thought of, and might of itself have operated to deter Propertius from paying much attention to him. The only reference² to Antimachus in the whole of Propertius couples him with Homer, and this is an unfavorable indication. On the other hand, every reference to Philetas, and there are five,³ points to a direct and close connection between him and Propertius. The five references⁴ to Callimachus also indicate an intimate relationship. One may therefore accept Wilamowitz's conclusions about Antimachus, but hardly about Callimachus, nor about Philetas, as will presently be more fully shown. Nothing need here be said about his brief discussion⁵ of less important writers, such as Euphorion and Parthenius and the older Roman poets.⁶ Slight acquaintance with the literary remains of Hermesianax is enough to convince anyone that the author of the Cynthia book owed no debt to him. There is no reference to him anywhere in Propertius.

In reading Tibullus and Propertius, one is struck with the many themes that are common to both. Of course there is much difference between them; Tibullus sings the praises of rustic life; Rome is good enough for Propertius. The latter has but one concern—his passion for Cynthia; the former certainly has other interests beside Delia. Yet the points of agreement in their writings are very numerous. Tibull. 1. 3 is a *prope-*

¹ Callim. fr. 74 b, Schneider:

Λύδη καὶ παχὺ γράμμα καὶ οὐ τὸρὸν.

Catull. 95. 10:

At populus tumido gaudeat Antimacho.

² Prop. 2. 34. 45.

³ Prop. 2. 34. 31; 3. 1. 1; 3. 3. 52; 3. 9. 44; 4. 6. 3.

⁴ Prop. 2. 1. 40; 2. 34. 42; 3. 1. 1; 3. 9. 43; 4. 1. 64.

⁵ L. c., pp. 291 ff.

⁶ The importance of Catullus in Elegy is shown by Professor A. L. Wheeler in A. J. P. 36 (1915), pp. 155 ff.

ptikon; so is Prop. 1. 8.¹ Prop. 1. 6 may be compared with Tibull. 1. 1. Prop. 1. 16 is a *paraklausithyron*, like Tibull. 1. 2; a comparison shows that they are alike in many details. Minor themes which they have in common may be added in large numbers.² They are so numerous that they could not have been due to chance. As Wilamowitz says³ in another connection, the poets could not "sich das aus den Fingern gezogen haben". They were not members of the same literary circle, and their books appeared at nearly the same time; so imitation is almost out of the question. The expressions and sentiments, then, must have been commonplaces in the field of elegy. There must therefore have been a well-developed subjective erotic elegy before the Augustan age, and it is probable that it was Alexandrian. Philetas is the poet to whom the signs point. Pohlenz has made out a strong case for him.⁴ We may note here matters in which the fragments of Philetas show a relation with Tibullus and Propertius.⁵

¹ See Professor Kirby Smith's note on Tibull. 1. 3. Most of the parallels cited are from my own collections; a few are from Smith or Harrington, or from dissertations in the field.

² Some of them are: the *custos*, Prop. 1. 11. 15; Tibull. 1. 2. 15; 1. 3. 84; and elsewhere. Dislike for war and all things military, Prop. 1. 6. 29; Tibull. 1. 1. 75. The power of magic, Prop. 1. 1. 23; Tibull. 1. 2. 43 f.; 1. 8. 19. The poet and his lady are tender, and not used to hardship, Prop. 1. 8. 7; Tibull. 1. 1. 46; 1. 2. 73; and elsewhere. No happiness without love, Prop. 1. 14. 22; Tibull. 1. 2. 75. Nights of wakefulness and tears, Prop. 1. 1. 33; 1. 11. 5; Tibull. 1. 2. 76. The lover's hard lot, and the cruelty of girls (boys, too), Prop. 1. 12; 1. 15; 1. 18; Tibull. 1. 6. 5 ff.; 1. 9; and elsewhere. The poet's forgiving spirit, Prop. 1. 8. 17 f.; 1. 18. 14 f.; Tibull. 1. 6. 56; 1. 9. 40. No cure nor end of love, Prop. 1. 5. 28; 1. 8. 21; 1. 12. 20; 1. 19. 6; Tibull. 1. 4. 81 f.; 1. 5. 37 ff. The poet's tender heart, Prop. 1. 6. 11; 1. 18. 13 ff.; Tibull. 1. 1. 51 f. Happiness of life with her, Prop. 1. 14. 9 ff.; Tibull. 1. 1. 57 f.; 1. 5. 21 ff. The vanity of riches, Prop. 1. 14. 23 f.; Tibull. 1. 1. 77 f. Life wretched without her, Prop. 1. 17. 1 ff.; Tibull. 1. 5. 1 ff. The lover's weakness and pallor, Prop. 1. 5. 21 f.; Tibull. 1. 8. 52. Youth the time for love, Prop. 1. 19. 25 f.; Tibull. 1. 1. 69. How she should act in his absence, Prop. 1. 15. 9 ff.; Tibull. 1. 3. 83 ff. Her perjury, Prop. 1. 15. 25; Tibull. 1. 6. 7 f.; 1. 9. 3. The poet as *praeceptor amoris*, Prop. 1. 10. 21 ff.; Tibull. 1. 6. 9 ff.; 1. 8. 55 ff.

³ L. c., p. 287.

⁴ L. c., pp. 108-112.

⁵ We are at a great disadvantage here, for it is the Bittis which is supposed to have been the best example of subjective elegy, and we

The fragments of Philetas show the sorrows of life (1, 2, 3, 7, 12, 13, 14);¹ examples from Propertius and Tibullus have been given above, in connection with Mimnermus. These woes are endless, and there is no relief (fr. 3, 7): cf. Prop. 1. 6. 25, 35 f. The idea that death ends all (fr. 6) is close to the thought of Prop. 1. 19. 25 f. and Tibull. 1. 1. 69 f. The worth of poetry in love appears in fr. 10;² cf. Prop. 1. 8. 39 f.; Tibull. 1. 4. 61 ff. The desire to be remembered after death, another prominent elegiac motif, is in fr. 11: see Prop. 1. 7. 9 f. The scene in 13 recalls Prop. 1. 17. The motif of spinning is seen in 18; cf. Prop. 1. 3. 41; Tibull. 1. 3. 86 f. Number 19 praises modesty: Prop. 1. 16. 2 is a faint parallel, while similar expressions are found in 1. 2. Fr. 21 reveals the love of country life so familiar in Tibullus; cf. 1. 1 *et passim*. Propertius seeks the country only when he wants a lonely place where he may rail at fate and Cynthia (1. 18). Probably fragments 20, 22, and 24 are echoes of the same feeling. In 27 we meet with the marriage of Jason and Medea. Medea's name in the Roman pair is coupled with the idea of witchcraft; Prop. 1. 1. 24; Tibull. 1. 2. 51. Her marriage does not appear there: Propertius has an allusion to the Argonauts in 1. 20. 17 ff. We find no example of a myth treated in the manner of Propertius; no fragment is long enough for that. Mythological references occur, however, in 15, 16, and 27: the last may have been of some length. Of course the Demeter and the Hermes were long poems on mythological subjects, but these were not subjective elegy. Fr. 5 is a story of Odysseus and Polymela, daughter of Aeolus, selected by Parthenius for his friend Gallus among the tales to be used in poetry of this sort. This would do as well

have not a single fragment which we know to have come from it. On the other hand, most of our fragments of Mimnermus are cited expressly from the Nanno.

¹Hartung's numbering. As the first three of these are from the Demeter, and probably refer to her troubles, perhaps they should not be cited as parallels to mortal woes.

²So Hartung, and Reitzenstein, *Epigramm u. Skolion*, p. 179. But Bach, Maass, and Cessi have interpreted these obscure words differently; see Cessi, *de Philitae carminibus quaestiones*, in *Eranos* 8 (1908), pp. 141 ff., and his references.

as the Aitia of Callimachus in furnishing material for Propertius.¹

This is not an imposing list of parallels between Philetas and the Romans, but as nearly all (eight out of nine) are found in Propertius and five in Tibullus, the proportion is better than for Mimnermus. Moreover, the small number of lines surviving from Philetas must be considered—47 as compared with 83 full lines of Mimnermus. Altogether, they may serve to advance somewhat the claims made for Philetas.

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¹ Wilamowitz admits this; p. 290.

V.—A VEXED PASSAGE IN THE GALLIC WAR
(V, 16).

In the account of the second invasion of Britain, Caesar, returning to the narrative from the digression on the island and its people, records an attack of British cavalry and charioteers upon the Roman cavalry on the march, and the complete rout of the former (15). After more skirmishing we come (in 16) to observations on the disadvantages under which his own infantry and cavalry labored, in engaging an enemy whose tactics proved a continual embarrassment, as on the previous expedition (IV, 33-34). In 16, 1-2, he dwells upon the discovery that the immobile Roman infantry was at a disadvantage against so lively a foe, and that the cavalry was exposed to great danger, owing to the Parthian methods employed by the Britons, and their habit of dismounting from their chariots, to fight on foot among their own cavalry. Next comes the sentence which has given the critics and commentators so much trouble (§3):

Equestris autem proelii ratio et cedentibus et insequentibus par atque idem periculum inferebat.

This is usually understood as stating that, whether the Roman horse retreated or pursued, they were in equal danger,—or, more bluntly expressed, that they were of no use whatever against the cavalry and *essedarii* of the enemy. One more section completes the chapter,—further disadvantages of the Romans, owing to the open formation of the Britons and their effective system of reserves.

In general the editors have retained the sentence quoted above without emendation. Thus, e. g. Nipperdey, Dinter, Doberenz, Kraner, Rheinhard, Benoist, du Pontet, etc. Hoffmann (1888) emended by inserting *illis* (the Britons) after *cedentibus*, evidently construing as an ablative absolute. On the other hand, the whole sentence is bracketed by Kübler (1893), Meusel (1894, 1908, 1915), and Rice Holmes in his recent edition. All three of these editors cast doubt upon the MS. tradition by re-

marking that the sentence was omitted in the *editio princeps*,—a fact which may prove no more than the first editor's dependence upon one or two unknown MSS. of problematical value, or, conversely, his extreme independence in ejecting a sentence which baffled explanation. Rice Holmes thinks Meusel "right in bracketing these words; and all commentators have recognized that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to explain them. They cannot refer to a combat between the Roman and the British cavalry, for the British cavalry only acted in support of the charioteers. Therefore, if they were genuine, they could only refer to a combat between the Roman cavalry and the combined British charioteers and cavalry, and the meaning would be either (1) '*On the other hand*, the mode in which the British cavalry fought [in co-operation with the charioteers] exposed the Romans, alike in retreat and in pursuit, to exactly the same danger', or (2) '*In fact* the nature of the combat of horse [that is to say, the combat between the Roman cavalry and the combined British charioteers and cavalry] exposed the Romans', &c. But the passage, which is not in the first printed edition of the *Commentaries*, is at least suspicious". He adds a reference to his Ancient Britain, 688-691, where the whole passage is discussed at length.

Of these two explanations, the first may commend itself to the tactician, but will it stand the test of rhetorical analysis? It strains a point to find an antithesis between *equestris* and the charioteers involved in *ex essedis desilirent et pedibus dispari proelio contenderent* (§2), and yet requires us to note that the *equites* were at the same time supported by the *essedarii*, thus effacing a contrast upon which italics have been lavished in vain. Meanwhile a very striking double antithesis has been completely ignored—that between *equestris* and *pedibus* (i. e. the mounted and dismounted), and that between *dispari proelio* and *par atque idem periculum*. The former contrast is noted by some of the commentators, e. g. Doberenz, Kraner-Dittenberger, and must surely have been taken for granted by many mature readers of Caesar. Rice Holmes's second interpretation, "*In fact* the nature of the combat of horse", etc., gives more stress to "nature" than one can easily find in an unemphatic *ratio*, and greatly weakens the obvious emphasis upon *equestris*. It also fails to take account of the double antithesis,

pedibus dispari proelio and equestris . . . par atque idem periculum, in which may lie the clue to the whole sentence.

So long as the *essedarii* did not dismount, the Roman cavalry were at no disadvantage; the danger was equal for both sides, the pursued and the pursuer, *et cedentibus et insequentibus*, assuming of course that neither side was invariably in pursuit of the other. The commentators, however, have referred the two participles to different situations of the same party, i. e. the Romans (or the Britons, Hoffmann). Thus, the general view of the sentence makes it an amplification of the disadvantages under which the Roman cavalry labored. So, for example, Benoist: "ce combat de cavalerie était également dangereux pour les cavaliers romains, soit qu'ils reculassent, soit qu'ils allassent de l'avant". Yet why should Caesar say that his cavalry were under all circumstances inferior? Only one chapter further back (15, 1) we read of a victory of Roman cavalry attacked by British *equites* and *essedarii*. Hence it is highly improbable that he should so soon have thought it necessary to remark about the invariable inferiority of his cavalry.

For a defence of our interpretation of the participles as virtual substantives, "pursued and pursuers", one has merely to go back half-a-dozen lines in the text to find *insequi cedentes*, and other examples may readily be cited (e. g. II, 19, 5; VII, 80, 8). As for *ratio*, it may be simple periphrasis,—*equestris proelii ratio*=*equestre proelium* (Benoist); or it may call attention to what was inherent in the situation, so that a fair equivalent would be "a mounted engagement naturally", etc.; or *ratio* may add the note of generalization,—"mounted tactics in general". From the combat in which some are mounted and others on foot, we return in *equestris proelii ratio* to the notion of a more normal and conventional encounter, in which, to be sure, there are charioteers, as well as horsemen, but in this case all are "mounted". One may then paraphrase: "When they did not dismount, however, naturally the combat was evenly matched for the pursued and the pursuers", or "While they were mounted, however, the conditions of battle were equally dangerous for the pursued and the pursuers".

Analyzing the chapter as a whole we should have:

(§1) Disadvantage of the immobile infantry.

(2) Disadvantage of the cavalry when the charioteers resorted to their favorite tactics and dismounted.

(3) "Mounted tactics, however, brought one and the same danger to pursued and pursuer"—a parenthetical reservation. So long as the *essedarii* remained in their chariots the disadvantage was not felt. Observe that the return to the *oratio recta* sets this off from the preceding sections in a way perhaps suggestive of an afterthought, but hardly of an interpolation. For the latter no motive can be imagined, and nothing in the style of the sentence justifies the suspicion of a later hand.¹

(4) Additional circumstances embarrassing to the Romans,—the open formation of the Britons, and their reserves. This passes over the parenthetical remark of §3 to connect with 1-2 as a whole. He is thinking, in fact, more of the infantry than of the cavalry.

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¹ An examination of all the other complete sentences bracketed by Meusel in the *Gallie War* (1908, 1915) shows no case quite similar to this, except V, 30, 5, *Omnia excogitantur*, etc. The others are accounted for as geographical padding, useless, senseless or incredible additions. If the double *et* is felt to be an objection to the interpretation proposed in this paper, it is surely more rational to bracket the first *et* than the entire sentence.

VI.—ΟΠΩΣ AND ΟΠΩΣ ΑΝ.

So many of the syntactical points I have stood for, or haply made, in the last forty years have been accepted by Professor Smyth in his Greek Grammar that I am somewhat surprised to find that in the matter of *ὅπως* and *ὅπως αν* (§ 1345) he adheres to Madvig's rule (Synt.², § 122, note 2), which even Goodwin abandoned in his Revised Edition of his Moods and Tenses. *αν*, says Professor Smyth, does not appreciably affect the meaning. If by 'meaning' 'translation' and not 'tone' is meant, there is nothing to quarrel about. But the old-fashioned English 'that so' gives a fair equivalent (A. J. P. IV 422). Now no competent scholar will accuse Goodwin of supersubtlety. His 'common sense' is the foundation of his canonicity among English-speaking scholars. And yet none of my innovations—if innovations they are—received more emphatic approval from him than *ὅπως αν* = *ἐάν πως*. Years and years ago Wecklein (Curae Epigr., p. 41) called attention to the prevalence of *ὅπως αν* in Attic inscriptions (Meisterhans, § 50, 7; cf. 3d ed. § 91, 30). It sorts well with the tone of legal exactness, of legal caution such as has made *ἐάν* the legal condition (A. J. P. VI 55; T. A. P. A. 1876, p. 2). It is no secret that the conditional can take on a final connotation (Monro, Homeric Grammar, §§ 314, 319). It ought to be no news that *αν* guards the finality of the relative. It is an old observation that *ὥς κε* in Homer is regularly preceded by an imperative, so that a certain Greek temperance is begotten in the whirlwind of passion. However, it is fair to say that Professor Smyth has good company in his rejection of a distinction on which I may possibly lay too much stress, as is natural with makers of formulae. Comp. also A. J. P. XXIII 127, XXIV 394, XXIX 267, XXXIII 236—a string of references that does not reflect credit upon the completeness of the Indiculus Syntacticus, A. J. P. XXXVI 485, which, however, being prepared for my own use makes no pretensions to exhaustiveness, that prime virtue of an index. For me *Final Sentence* sufficed.

B. L. G.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Homer and History. By WALTER LEAF, London: The Macmillan Co., 1915. Pp. XIII+325; Appendix; Maps.

In this book Mr. Leaf returns, with fresh conviction, to a reënforcement of his theme of nearly twenty-five years ago, that the Iliad and Odyssey "really do depict the Achaian age, as they profess". Subsequent discoveries in Crete and elsewhere have entailed important modifications, but he finds material within Homer for a plausible argument from what he fairly describes as historic data. He states his theory confidently but without dogmatism. As a reasonable working hypothesis, at least until a new turn of the spade brings fresh evidence, this thesis may find acceptance with scholars who are reluctant to concede the Epic estates to Aegean mortmain or to degrade the Olympians to seventh century *parvenus*. If we can believe with Mr. Leaf not only in a real Trojan war, waged by real men in the twelfth century, but also in the genesis of a wholly Greek epic within the limits of the "dark" centuries, we need neither fear the threat of Minoan maieutic to extract an embryonic "Little" Iliad from the undeciphered Cretan script nor admit the distorting *reductio* to a least common denominator—say of *circa* 600 B. C.—alike for Hellene, Hindu, Iranian, Semite and Chinese (cf. Gilbert Murray: Four Stages of Greek Religion, 57, note).

The author lays stress on the confirmation of his beliefs derived from H. Munro Chadwick's independent study of the Teutonic and Greek heroic poems. He says, p. xii, "To the instruction and encouragement which I received from The Heroic Age (published 1912), the existence of this book is largely due". He returns repeatedly to Chadwick's work.

Mr. Leaf, in chapter I, claims that Homer differentiates clearly between men and gods. The Heraclitean formulæ (cf. Lucian, Vit. Auctio, 14) that men are *θεοὶ θνητοί*, and gods *ἄνθρωποι ἀθάνατοι*, would probably satisfy neither Mr. Leaf nor Homer. Divine descent in Homer has nothing in common with worship in later Greece. The two conceptions are divorced. In Homer "two heroes have divine descent and heroic honours; two have divine descent but no honours; four have human descent and heroic honours". . . . "The heroes of Homer show no sign of superhuman origin" and the divine government of the world is an "epiphenomenon." Some, at least, of

Homer's heroes were historic men with these actual names, e. g. Agamemnon, Achilles, Odysseus; but it is not necessary to assume historicity for every name: the dog Argos, for example; nor, perhaps, for Penelope. But "Helen was Helen before she dressed for the masquerade of mythology".

In his chapter on "The Coming of the Achaeans", Mr. Leaf joins issue with the theory of Mr. Evans that "the age of Homer is more recent than the latest stage of anything that can be called Minoan or Mycenaean". The Achaeans, he thinks, intruded as a new race upon the Minoans, who had settled in Greece and conquered still older aborigines, and became in turn from the fourteenth century onwards the dominant tribe—perhaps a few thousands only forming an aristocratic, military class—but that this took place without involving at first any perceptible change in the art and culture of the land, though their language prevailed.

As illustrating the plausibility of this contention, Mr. Leaf makes an extended comparison with the Norman conquest of the Saracens in Sicily. The Normans came into the inheritance of two hundred and thirty years of Saracen culture. "With the Saracen and Greek to his subjects, the Norman had really no need to innovate; he had simply to bid the men of the land to go on working for him instead of for any other." (Cited from Freeman in *Encyc. Brit.* xvii, 551, 9th ed.)

The application of this interpretation of the kind of contact which took place between Achaeans and Minoans is developed by Mr. Leaf, and he sketches the probable route of these peoples, coming from the north by way of Epirus (rather than via Thessaly). He goes on to account for the Achaean expansion to the coast of Asia Minor. In the thirteenth century the Hittite Empire was already in decline, and the barrier to invaders, covetous of the Asia Minor littoral, was weakening. First of all, however, it was necessary to secure the Troad, a strategic position from time immemorial, through which the "northern pressure had its path of least resistance . . . , if they were to win a solid footing in the Hermos Valley." And so in the Trojan war there met as rivals the long parted divisions of the invaders from the Balkans—the Dardanian Phrygians whose ancestors had moved southeastward through Thrace, and the Achaeans who had gone southwest through Epirus.

In chapter III, "Boeotia", Mr. Leaf not only denies, as do others, the Homeric authenticity of the Catalogue of the Ships, but draws additional logical conclusions which are still further fortified in his subsequent chapters. (E. g. the excision, unwelcome on sentimental grounds, of the whole Aulis romance.) The Homeric inhabitants of the canton are Cadmeans, not Boeotians. The latter came in two generations later. Thucydides,

he thinks, knew this bit of history but did not venture openly to "Megarize".

Incidentally, Mr. Leaf excludes also the "embryo catalogue", contained in Il. xiii, 685-722, with its intrusive Ἰάονες ἐλκεχίτωνες, subsequently calling it "Ionia" to distinguish, along with the "Boeotia", from Homer. "The whole proportion and perspective of the Iliad is distorted in the Catalogue" (i. e. of the Ships), p. 107.

In three chapters Mr. Leaf discusses: "The Dominion of Peleus"; "The Dominion of Odysseus"; and "The Realm of Agamemnon." In these 132 pages he makes an examination of the principal kingdoms of the Achæans, as they may be mapped out from Homer, and compares these regions with the data indicated in the Catalogue. The result is cumulative against the "Homericity" of the latter. The Catalogue, for example, based on no real knowledge of inner Thessaly, breaks up the Kingdom of Peleus into topographically impossible parcels, as shown on his map, page 128.

The discussion of the "Dominion of Odysseus" and, incidentally, of the Odyssey is of great interest. Mr. Leaf refuses to treat the bulk of the Odyssey as yielding, like the Iliad, data of historic events or of sober topography. His objections, however, to M. Bérard's revision of the Corfu-Phæacian theory are not new. M. Champault had conclusively demonstrated, long since, that M. Bérard's identification of the west side of the island is, if anything, less satisfactory than the orthodox tradition, although Champault's own identification of Phæacia with Ischia failed to satisfy other *indicia* in the text.

But Mr. Leaf allows Odysseus to return from the realm of fancy into reality when he comes to Ithaca and the neighboring islands and territory. He gives interesting details of the Echinades group and Dragonera Island (map, page 164, "after Admiralty Chart 203"). In a note, page 165, he tells us that the Pauly-Wissowa article on these islands is useless to inquirers. He has no unreasoned prejudice, however, against everything Teutonic and endorses, restates more clearly and reënforces with fresh data Dr. Dörpfeld's Leucas-Ithaca theory.

While giving constructive evidence for the wide-spread realm of Agamemnon Mr. Leaf gathers up many details, hinted at before, into a plausible reënforcement of his theory of the contact, chronological and geographical, between Minoan and Achæan and of his belief in the complete intrusiveness of the matter in the Catalogue of the Ships. His conception of the extent of Achæan rule, with Mycenæ at its centre, is made clear to the eye by the large folding map appended to the book. Agamemnon's supremacy is passively acknowledged by Odysseus (cf. Il. iv, 204-6), and by Idomeneus of Crete (cf. Il. iv, 266f.). Only Achilles the "hot-headed son of the King of

Phthia, in the extreme north sounds the note of independence".

Mycenae was "the residence for several generations at least of kings of astonishing wealth and culture". All the strongholds of the Argolid were subservient to it. Mycenae was not an outpost of Corinth (assumed by some as Agamemnon's capital) for the very good reason, as Mr. Leaf boldly and incautiously asserts (p. 210), that "in Agamemnon's days there was no [town of] Corinth in existence"! Mindful, however, of the irrepressible excavator Mr. Leaf adds (page 214), that he would submit to evidence if a real Mycenaean layer—not a few chance sherds—should be discovered in this vicinity, but feels confident that none such will ever be found. But just this has happened in the last year. Mr. Blegen, secretary of the American School at Athens, has discovered an indubitable Mycenaean site nearby on the Gulf of Corinth, and now a number of other sites, including one near Hexamilia, found in the vicinity of Old Corinth, are waiting further excavation. Ancient Ephyre, it seems probable, will be identified about where we might expect to find it.

In the chapter on "The Fusion of Races" is to be found, illustrated by suggestive parallels from modern history, the exposition of the author's solution of this knotty problem. "The Achaeans are soldiers, who have inherited the art and wealth of the Minoans, whom they have succeeded; the subjects are tillers of the soil, accustomed to serfdom, and living on by the side of their masters, yet having little in common with them beyond the payment of their dues".

This subject population, probably akin to the Achaeans in blood (Mr. Leaf implies that they may have been immigrants from the north in pre-Minoan days), differed widely from them in culture and thought. After the Achaean aristocracy had been weakened by the long Trojan war there followed a fusion of religious beliefs as well as of political life, and the result was a compromise and blend as in the case of Norman and Saxon, though in different proportion and with some sharp differences in result. The more aristocratic though "*parvenu*" Olympians (cf. Aesch. Eum. 778), largely dominated the darker sediment of rustic ritualism. No convenient herd of swine was near by to make off *en masse* with the "Eniautos-daimon" and the rest of the autochthonous demons, but ultimately the gulfs washed most of them down.

In the closing chapter, "The Achaian Epos," Mr. Leaf's summary includes certain propositions which may be thus condensed: Both poems have an historical basis in a Trojan war, which was a necessary prelude to the expansion of Greece eastwards. Tradition, tested by geography and archaeology, preserves intact so much that we must believe in its continuity

and assume that it began on the mainland before the days of the great colonization; that the court lays (cf. Chadwick's *Heroic Age*), sung in Achæan Mycenæ, Pylos, and Sparta, were taken to Asia Minor and developed and perfected; that some of the Achæan leaders were real men under real names (Mr. Leaf is not troubled by sarcastic references to Menelaus as "a well-known infantry officer with auburn whiskers"); and that the matter in the Catalogue of the Greek Ships cannot be reconciled with the rest of Homer.

Mr. Leaf, finally, does not deny the need of further light upon problems such as: (a) What, if anything, does the Homeric Epos contain of tradition earlier than itself? (b) Does Heracles typify Minoan civilization? (c) Are the adventures of Odysseus based on Minoan legend? (d) How is the Homeric Epos related to all the mass of Athenian legend?

Mr. Leaf's full exposition of his theories cannot be fairly judged by any abridgment. His great authority as an Homeric scholar will inevitably secure for this his latest contribution a detailed study of the whole context.

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Lucian's Atticism. The Morphology of the Verb. (Dissertation presented in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy) by ROY J. DEFERRARI. Princeton University Press, 1916. Pp. 82+ (annotated) index.

This dissertation, confined to the morphology of the verb, is the fruit of an investigation of Lucian's language in relation to the other Atticists and to the κοινή.

Previous studies of Lucian's Atticism, the author urges, are incomplete or are based on imperfect knowledge of MS readings and of their relative value. He acknowledges, however, his indebtedness to Du Mesnil, Chabert, and Schmid. For his own examination of MS evidence he depends on Nilén's critical edition, as far as it goes, i. e., Nos. 1-14, and for the remainder fortifies himself by a collation of Jacobitz, Fritzsche, Sommerbrodt, etc., supplemented by photographic facsimiles of FUZN.

This process, he believes, affords "sufficient control of both groups of MSS to make this study possible".

Seven pieces included in the Lucianic corpus he excludes altogether, either as obviously spurious or, in the case of the two pseudo-Ionic pieces, as not germane to a discussion on Atticism. Fourteen other pieces are relegated to discussion in footnotes for varying reasons: two, the Podagra and Ocypus, as written in verse; the Lexiphanes (though genuine, as he

believes), because the subject-matter is Atticism; and the other eleven—Hippias, Longaevi, Iudicium Vocalium, Solœcista, Parasitus, Asinus, Saltatio, Amores, Abdicatus, Demosthenes, and Saturnalia—because their authenticity has been more or less strongly impugned.

All editors, it may be remarked, are by no means in agreement in regard to this list. The Iudicium Vocalium, for example, is accepted as genuine by both Jacobitz and Sommerbrodt and its content with its peculiarly Lucianic humour—a factor which, though subjective, may be claimed to be of at least equal weight with the necessarily tentative proof from sporadic forms—seems to mark it as a certainly genuine, if youthful, Lucianic curtain-raiser. Mr. Deferrari's objection, however, is entitled to consideration. On the score of two un-Attic forms, *ἤρχετο* and *ὀραθῆναι*, he believes that the piece is spurious.

Chapters I-VIII are devoted to detailed examination of the following morphological questions: *ττ* vs. *σσ*; *σμ* or *μ*; *ν ἐφέλκυστικόν*; augment; verb-endings; collateral present forms, including contract verbs; tenses, future and perfect; irregular verbs.

Chapter IX gives a brief summary of noteworthy matters in the excluded pieces. He concludes that of all the pieces rejected the Longævi, Solœcista, Iudicium Vocalium, Asinus, and Amores show the greatest variation from Lucianic usage—almost enough, in fact, to prove that they are spurious. The Lexiphanes shows no noteworthy variation whatever.

In the concluding chapter, "Lucian as an Atticist in Relation to the MS. Tradition", he argues that Lucian's deviations from good Attic are due either to a sense of dramatic fitness or to a desire to avoid obscurity or pronounced pedantry. Hence the naturalness of his style. Minor inconsistencies may be due to the insertion of Attic forms by an Atticist reviser, or to careless admission of *κοινή* forms by Lucian or by the scribes. Mr. Deferrari rejects the theory of a sweeping Attic recension and concludes that "on the whole the tradition faithfully represents Lucian's usage;—modified, however, by the insertion of a small number of Atticisms and a much greater number of vulgarisms. Lucian was more Attic, not less Attic, than as we now know him".

Mr. Deferrari's dissertation is a welcome contribution to the study of Lucian, and it is to be hoped that it will be followed up by the further investigations which he promises in his introduction.

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A Study of the Cognomina of Soldiers in the Roman Legions.

By LINDLEY RICHARD DEAN. Princeton, 1916. pp. 321.

For a number of years doctoral dissertations have been appearing, for the most part in Germany, which have taken up one at a time the history of the legions of the Roman army. Several books and articles dealing with the Roman army have been written lately, of which Cagnat's *L'Armée romaine d'Afrique* and Cheesman's *The Auxilia of the Roman imperial army* have been distinct contributions to our knowledge of the military side of Roman history. There has just appeared a Princeton dissertation by L. R. Dean entitled, *A Study of the Cognomina of Soldiers in the Roman Legions*, which takes its place as an important contribution in this field.

Dr. Dean has collected some 5700 names of Roman "soldiers, veterans, and under-officers up to and including *primi pili*", and published them in alphabetical order of cognomina at the end of his dissertation, being pages 127-321. Chapter one is given over to Popular Cognomina, and chapters two and three to the Classification of Cognomina. The writer says in his introduction that he was led to undertake his study in part because Schulze in his *Lateinische Eigennamen* had said that the collection and classification of cognomina would bring valuable results, and in part because E. Bormann had made a statement in his *Roemischer Limes* about the cognomina Firmus and Severus that challenged investigation. Dr. Dean's table of cognomina shows that there are seven cognomina which far outnumber Severus, and that Firmus is hardly in the running at all, which goes to show that such generalizations as Bormann's are dangerous unless backed by statistics.

The author sets twenty as the minimum number of examples competent to make Popular Cognomina. There are fifty-six cognomina found more than twenty times each. Felix is first, 210 times; Saturninus second, 183 times; Victor third, 167 times; Valens fourth, 152 times; Maximus fifth, 146 times; Secundus sixth, 110 times; Rufus seventh, 96 times; then Severus, Ianuarius, Vitalis, Donatus, Crescens, and so on, in a rapidly diminishing scale. Alexander, found 50 times, is the only cognomen not of Roman origin that appears more than twenty times; Datus, Donatus, and Rogatus are found practically only in Africa.

In the second chapter there are a number of tables which classify the cognomina in a way that is enlightening and suggestive. Three broad divisions are made of the 1333 cognomina used: first, according to form and meaning, second, according

to endings, and third, of foreign origin. Nearly one third of the whole number of different *cognomina* are adjectival in form. There are 39 which denote qualities suited to men in military service, such as *Audax*, *Bellicus*, *Dexter*, *Laevus*, *Ferox*, *Reptentinus*; there are 42 which denote physical characteristics, such as *Albus*, *Calvus*, *Gracilis*, *Longus*, *Magnus*, *Mutilus*, *Taurinus*; 61 which denote mental or moral characteristics, among which may be named *Amabilis*, *Asper*, *Castus*, *Dignus* and *Dignissimus*, *Garrulus*, *Mellitus*, *Serenus*, *Verus* and *Verissimus*; 82 with geographical or racial significance, as *Africus*, *Celtiber*, *Gallicus*, *Lugudunolus*, *Tusculus*. It is interesting to find that all the numeral adjectives except those for 'eighth' and 'ninth' are used as *cognomina*; that there are 54 forms of participial adjectives; 93 nouns of different groups as illustrated by the following examples, *Pupus*, *Ballista*, *Caprarius*, *Leo*, *Aquila*, *Auster*, *Stella*, *Cicatricula*; 34 connected with names of divinities; and 35 well-known Roman *cognomina*, such as *Agrippa*, *Cato*, *Pansa*, *Scipio*, *Seneca*, and *Varus*. The rest of the chapter is taken up with lists of *cognomina* ending in -a, -anus, -ianus, -inus, -lis, -o, -osus, and those of foreign origin.

Seven supplementary paragraphs make up chapter three. Double *cognomina* are treated first, and several such names are given as *C. Tannonius Felix qui et Aquensis*, but Dr. Dean finds no quite satisfactory explanation for the second cognomen or supernomen. The reviewer wonders if he considered the possibility of the supernomen being used to distinguish two men in a legion who had the same name.

It is next shown that before the reign of Claudius, soldiers' names with *cognomina* are rare, and that the *cognomina* of the first century are mostly adjectives; that more than one third of all the soldiers' names are found in Africa, and that the most striking characteristic of the *cognomina* in Africa is that they are in the form of past participles. Uncomplimentary *cognomina*, *Sterceius* being as unsavory as any, are found, but as Dr. Dean suggests very pertinently, such names are not often likely to follow a man to his grave-stone. There are a number of such names as *Iulius Iulianus*, *Valerius Valerianus*, and the like, with both nomen and cognomen formed on the same stem.

The writer shows that he has used the *Ephemeris Epigraphica* (so quoted on page III, although on pages 8 and 9 he cites it as *Eph. Epigr.*, on page 93 as *Ephem. Epigr.*, and on page 108 as *Ephem. Epigr.*), but it is unfortunate that it is not listed among the abbreviations. The bibliography lays no claim to completeness, so omissions are not unexpected. It happens that the reviewer remembered hearing Professors O. Hirschfeld and Ed. Meyer speak of a dissertation by Martin Bang, which had been completed the year before he was him-

self their student. Its title is *Die Germanen im römischen Dienst bis zum Regierungsantritt Constantius I* (Berlin, 1906), and the II. Abschnitt, *Namen und Heimatsbezeichnung* (pp. 17-24), has several points which would have been suggestive to Dr. Dean, and which would have added a few names to his list.

I notice also at least one inscription given by Carl Tschauschner (*Legionare Kriegsvexillationen von Claudius bis Hadrian*, Breslau Dissertation, 1907, page 29) found at Baalbek in Syria which mentions a C. Velius Rufus, p(rimus) p(ilus) leg. xii Fulm(inatae) whose name does not seem to appear in the author's alphabetical list of soldiers. This position of *primus pilus* is the lowest in the *cursus honorum* of C. Velius Rufus, and it may well be that he does not belong in Dr. Dean's list.

The long alphabetical list of names which fills pages 128-321 is a valuable piece of work. The reviewer has noticed very few misprints, and has no right to complain of a scheme for a list which is so consistently followed. None the less, abbreviations without punctuation seem to him to give a page an unfinished appearance. Perhaps also the English word "Date"? which appears in a great number of the inscriptions, might have been left out entirely, the author's explanation on page 127: "(2) Date, wherever possible" being sufficient, it would seem, to cover the case.

Such criticisms, if criticisms they are, are captious. The dissertation is a good piece of work, and well worth doing, and is one in which both Dr. Dean and Professor Abbott may well take satisfaction.

R. V. D. M.

The Origin of the Cult of Artemis. By J. RENDEL HARRIS, Manchester: The University Press, 1916. Reprinted from "The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library", April-July, 1916.

As I intimated in a previous number of the JOURNAL, the vegetarian interpretation of mythology dies hard and reminds me by its persistence of the vitality exhibited by the locust tree (*Robinia pseudacacia*), a vitality more familiar to some people I know than the Book of Job, quoted A. J. P. XXXVII 107. If the semblance of bark be left on a locust post, it will put forth branches and leaves that demand the stern action of the hatchet, but, for one, I have no desire or, in fact, competence to ply the woodman's bill on my friend Rendel Harris's arbor-escences. For aught I know, the leaves his tree puts forth may be for the healing of mythology or at all events may serve as

'Fliegende Blätter' to promote the gaiety of the nations. No-where will one find more delightfully whimsical humour paired with recondite learning than in the series one part of which was briefly noticed as aforesaid. The Origin of the Cult of Apollo is now followed by the lecture On the Origin of the Cult of Artemis. So much in love is Professor Harris with his thesis, so much impressed is he by the additional proofs he has gathered from an astounding range of reading, that each lecture begins with a survey and reinforcement of his previous combinations, and I will follow his seductive example. The oak, he had previously shewn, as the animistic repository of the thunder, is the dwelling-place of Zeus; and Zeus himself is the woodpecker that nested in it, or hammered at its bark. Athena—but here there is only a perhaps—who sprang from the head of the thunder-oak, was the owl that lived in one of its hollows. Dionysos, whose thunder-birth is established, was the ivy on the oak, and Apollo was linked to the life of Zeus through the life of the oak—for Apollo was the mistletoe. But the sanctity of the oak was transferred from the oak to the apple-tree, and Apollo became by name, as well as by nature, the apple-god—and for this thesis, new and startling evidence is adduced. Professor Harris then proceeds to shew that Artemis is to be identified with her namesake, artemisia, which bears the homely English name 'mugwort'. 'Mug', it seems, is for 'mücke' (midge) and, being interpreted 'mugwort' is 'flywort' (compare 'fleabane'). 'Flywort' is a word of portentous significance to one who has followed the story of the fly from the time of Beelzebub—the Fly-lord—down to the present day. But what of the twin sister of Apollo? There wasn't any twin sister of Apollo. The twinship of Apollo and Artemis was an outgrowth of the twinship of Kastor and Polydeukes, and Leto is a by-form of Leda. It was, then, in the spirit of prophecy that Myers and Sandys mixed up the two mothers of twins, Leda and Leto, in translating the Third Olympian.¹ Artemis was primarily a healer, probably an all-healer, and thus became for women what Apollo was for men; so that we have a medical partnership instead of a Latonian twinship (A. J. P. XXXVII 90). In any case The Cult of Artemis is delightful reading and suggests marginalia without end; and I am tempted to reproduce one or two of mine instead of a summary which from the nature of the material must be sadly imperfect. The German name for

¹When this notice was written—clearly an overflow from a super-abundant *Brief Mention*—I had no opportunity of consulting authorities. Now that it is in print, it is borne in upon me that neither the vegetarian theory of Artemis nor the denial of the twinship of Apollo and Artemis can be considered a novelty. See Wernicke in Pauly's *Realencyclopædie* s. v. Artemis, an article summarized by Alfred Emerson, A. J. P., XVII 101. But neither of these things detracts from the originality and interest of Professor Harris's presentation.

artemisia is 'Beifuss', and Professor Harris emphasizes the supposed virtues of artemisia in relieving the wearied feet of the pedestrian. The old explanation of Artemis as ἀρτεμής fits the character of Artemis. Whether she roams Taygetos as Diktynna to visit her nets, or whether she swims as Arethusa to the future site of Syracuse, she is eminently sound of wind and limb, and I am irresistibly reminded (by the lexicon) of the ἀρτεμὲς σκέλος of the Anthology (A. P. VI 203). In this epigram Philippos, or another, represents a poor old charwoman (χερνήτις), once lamed in both legs, who makes a votive offering to the nymphs for the recovery of the use of her limbs. Of course, Artemis is a nymph, or often appears as such, and I only wish it were seemly to reproduce in these pages the jaunty high-flung Diana that figures in an advertisement of a popular 'footease'. Dealing with an herb, Professor Harris has drawn largely from the old herbalists. Unfortunately, I have access only to a modern pharmacopœia, but the chapter on artemisia is instructive and suggestive. The active principle of artemisia is called santonin, a sovereign anthelmintic, familiar, too familiar, to the nursery, a sphere in which Artemis as a midwife had a professional interest; and in this vermifugient function there is a striking parallel between Artemis and Apollo, between the expeller of worms and the queller of the Python, the 'laidly worm' Saint George had to encounter, the 'Lindwurm' of Schiller's Kampf mit dem Drachen.

B. L. G.

REPORTS.

PHILOLOGUS. Band LXXIII (N. F. Bd. XXVII), Heft 3.

XIV, pp. 321-373. C. Ritter, Die Abfassungszeit des Phaidros, ein Schibboleth der Platonerklärung. The main problems connected with the Phaidros are bound up with the question of the date of composition, so that a survey of the different answers to that question would represent a goodly portion of the history of Platonic studies. One ancient tradition declares the Phaidros Plato's earliest work. Diogenes Laertius adds that it has a youthful quality; Olympiodoros, that it is written in a dithyrambic style; Hermeias defends in it certain youthful weaknesses; Dionysios criticizes the boyish use of Gorgianic figures. Another ancient tradition (Cicero, Orator, 13, 42; cf. Phaidr. 278^e) would make it the work of Plato's old age. Usener rejects this opinion; Teichmüller defends it; Immisch, believing it to be an old tradition of the Academy, has in any case shown the probability that the contrasting of a speech by "Sokrates" with that by Lysias was censured by the Peripatetics as a sign of youthful conceit, and also that the ancients had a mistaken opinion as to the purpose of the dialogue, assuming that Plato wrote it in the period of his passionate youth. Of the two ancient views, that cited by Cicero would seem to be better attested. Schleiermacher had concluded that to the Phaidros should be accorded "unwider-ruflich die früheste Stelle unter allen Werken des Platon". But most independent editors have placed it from tenth to fifteenth among the twenty-one Platonic writings. The prevailing modern view has been that of Socher and Hermann, that the Phaidros is connected with the founding of Plato's school in the Academy. Some, like H. Usener, who bases his argument on the relations of Plato and Isokrates between 403 and 399 B. C., show a reaction to the position of Schleiermacher. Yet it seems impossible to date the Phaidros from purely internal evidence or any peculiarities of form or from comparison with the Gorgias, Menexenos and Euthydemos in which Plato takes a decided attitude towards rhetoric. Nevertheless positive results can be reached by the *statistical study of the style*: e. g. the use of καθάπερ and ὥσπερ, and 50 other such criteria. The Phaidros belongs to the "middle group" of dialogues, following not only the Gorgias, Euthydemos, and Kratylos, but also the Phaidon and Symposium. Moreover on purely factual grounds we may assume an order: Politeia, Phaidros, Theaitetos, Parmenides, as Diès thought probable.

XV, pp. 374-404. E. Ad. F. Michaelis, Zum authentischen Tibull. I. The Vita of Tibullus. The text of A (Baehrens) is reconstructed as follows: "Albius Tibullus, eques Romanus, elegis insignis, forma cultuque corporis observabilis, ante alios Corvinum Messallam, oratorem bilinguem, dilexit, cuius et contubernalis Aquitanico bello militaribus donis donatus est". So much seems to have been excerpted from a life written by an extremely conscientious and intelligent biographer. The remainder of the vita consists of late additions. II. Horace and Tibullus. The Albius of Ode I, 33 and Epistle I, 4 is probably Tibullus, since it is hard to believe that between 30 and 23 B. C. another "Albius" was writing elegies. The "opuscula" of Cassius Parmensis were not "tragedies" but merely political pamphlets and *exactionum descriptiones*, orders for tax-payments due, for Cassius had been financial agent of the republican army of Philippi (Appian B. C. V, 2). The epistle suits Tibullus, who as a young landlord had to collect his rents. The humor becomes evident, if, being known as a eulogist of rural life, he was generally suspected of visiting the country for practical purposes. The *sapiens* (vs. 5) would mean "a man like Cato". An examination of the scholia suggests that Caesar's legatus, Q. Attius Varus, slew Cassius Parmensis and appropriated his "opuscula". This deed was jestingly foisted on the tragic poet L. Varius Rufus. Another Cassius, not Cassius Parmensis, had written tragedies. III. Tibullus and Ovid. In the Epicedium Tibulli (Amor. III, 9) Ovid quotes freely ten times from Tib. I, 1 and 3, and also five times from four of the six elegies of book II. He may have heard readings from single poems of book II before Tibullus' death, but he seems to quote from the written roll. That he puts in the mouth of Nemesis a verse addressed by Tibullus to Delia may be explained by the fact that Tibullus dedicated to Nemesis but a single distich (II, 111 f.) of which she might boast. To put in her mouth "me tenuit moriens deficiente manu" would only heighten the tragedy of Tibullus' life. IV. The Messalinus Elegy, II, 5. Michaelis argues against F. Leo's change in vs. 21 to: nec fore credebat Troiam, as affording no help for the logical difficulties of the passage. (2) In vs. 19 the "Sibyl" is purposely not named. From the tone of vss. 39-64 the "great Sibyl" is meant, in comparison with whom Amalthea, Marpessia and the rest are of second rank. (3) Vs. 4 is read: nunc precor ad laudes flectere verba mea. Tibullus in this elegy sings something that may be properly called "laudes". Apollo is asked to inspire the bard, who is to utter the prophecies of the Sibyl. V. The Marathus Cycle. Unless the triad I, 4; 8; 9, is intended to constitute a unit, the humor is lost. The group

grows out of a conversation between the poet and Priapus, which Tibullus probably translated from some Greek original. VI. The order of the poems in book I. Originally I, II, III, IV were written on a *ternio* of 30 lines to the page; VIII, IX, X on a *binio* of 29 lines to the page; V, VI, VII also on a *binio* of 29 lines to the page. Later the last two groups were interchanged. This hypothesis offers a symmetrical arrangement for the Delia and Messalla elements, and lets the book close with the birthday poem to Messalla. VI. The Chronology of Book I. It gradually became Tibullus' habit to prefer hexameters of a "good" type in the first and last distich of each elegy: i. e., one with $3/2+7/2$ caesuras ("progressive", because more and more preferred) or $5/2+7/2$ ("recessive"). On this metrical and on other internal evidence the following dates are obtained: IV, VIII, IX 31 B. C. at latest; X late autumn 31 B. C.; III and I, written in Corfu, late summer 30 B. C.; II written in Rome, and the first Delia group I, II, III published in 29 B. C.; V, later VI (second Delia group) written between late 29 and 27 B. C.; VII, Messalla's birthday, late 27 or 26 B. C. The first book, in the order: I, II, III, IV, VIII, IX, X, V, VI, VII was published in 26 B. C.

XVI, pp. 405-425. L. Gurlitt, Tulliana. I. Epistulae ad Atticum. Most of the gross disarrangements of the text are attributable to the misunderstanding of Greek words. I, 13, 1 read: *ρητόρων φωνῇ* loquuntur. Also as a jest Cicero wrote: *nonus quisque* in Epirum; § 3 read: *omnino nunc* for *quinymo* (M¹) *nunc*. I, 1, 2 read: . . . *quae tum erit absoluta sane facile*. *Eum libenter nunc Caesari conciliaverim*. III, 12, 13 read: *Tibi, ut scribis, significarem, ut ad me venires, si δυνατόν, at intelligo etc.* IV, 8, 1 read: *Nihil quietius, nihil alsius, nihil amoenius, εἰ μὴ ζητῶ φιλόσοφον* (sc. *οἶκον*). (Or perhaps: *εἰ μὴ εἰσίστω φιλόσοφος*). Cicero refers in what follows to *πήγματα* (book-cases), *σιττύβαι* (roll covers), and *σίλλυβοι* (parchment indices). So he did have his *οἶκος φιλόσοφος* at Antium! IV, 11, 2 read: *ἀποθεωρήσει* delector. V, 10, 5 read: *in nos quadam benevolentiae sedulitate*. *Philosophia etc.* IV, 18, 2 (16, 9) read: *omnino πρόβλημα*. VI, 1, 25 read: *et heus tu γενναίως*. VIII, 12, 1 read: *ut sumeres aliquid temporis, quo tibi et quia perexiguo* (sc. *tempore*) *opus est*. V, 3, 3 read: *nostra continentia et diligentia ἐξάκεις* faciemus satis. (Cf. ep. ad fam. IX, 20, 2 where Gurlitt reads: *ἐξάκεις* for *ex artis*.) VIII, 15, 1 read: *αὐθαίμονος* fugam. Here and in several other corrupted passages Cicero refers to his brother Quintus as *αὐθαίμων* (Sophocl. Tr. 1041). X, 6, 1 read: *Asturae nihil sum acturus*. *Fiat in Hispania quidlibet, tamen ἐξιτητέον etc. . . . ἐκπλουν* quia festinabam etc. (or *et πλοῦν*). X, 12a, 2 (5) read, *qua re vi aut clam agendum est et si vi, fortunae*

συνεστάναι, clam (or si clam), αἰθαίμονι. X, 10, 3 read: Tentabo αἰθαίμονα . . . clam agam, cum paucissimis occultabor; Carteiam istis (or illinc) invitissimis evolabo, atque utinam ad Curionem! συνεστῶτι λέγω. VII, 8, 5 read: ex illa (sc. pace) αἰθαίμονι sestertia ί (=10) relinquenda aeris. Movet hominem etc. XV, 29 (2) illa αἰθαίμων παρὰ τούτων. The reading of M pupabulla may be for φλναρούμ(εν)α. XIII, 40, 1 read: hoc αἰθαίμονος est? or αἰθαίμονος salium est? XIII, 20, 4 read: Id ago scilicet, ut εὐδικία videar teneri. Just before this for in toto read: ἐν τούτῳ, referring to Caesar.

Concerning sources of Cicero's philosophical writings. In Ep. ad Att. XII, 6, 2 read: Amo enim πάντα Φιλόδημον teque istam tam tenuem θεωρίαν valde admiratum esse gaudeo. The reference is to Philodemus' "Complete Works". The θεωρία was most probably by Philodemus and wanted by Cicero for his De Finibus. In that case Cicero was planning that work in B. C. 46. If Tyrannio was the author of the θεωρία, we must regard it as a manual or book of extracts from Philodemus' works for the purposes of teaching. In XIII, 39, 2 read: Φαίδρον περὶ θεῶν et περὶ Παλλάδος.

XVII, pp. 426-445. H. Blümner, Umbilicus und cornua. The writer examines and rejects Th. Birt's arguments (Die Buchrolle in der Kunst, p. 228 ff. and p. 338) for his new hypothesis that the rod (umbilicus) was not fastened to the edge of the roll, but loosely inserted within it; and that the cornua were the end-leaves of the roll. Blümner first discusses the 19 literary allusions to ὀμφαλός or umbilicus and shows that the rod was attached to the roll; was sometimes even bought attached to the blank roll from the stationers; and, while not used for all books, especially short writings and documents, was common in *éditions de luxe*, and in books requiring much handling. The three passages referring to cornua and the archaeological evidence prove the cornua to have been the ornamented projecting ends of the umbilicus.

Miscellen.

9, pp. 446-447. W. Schmid, Zu Pindaros Pythia 2, 72. The verse is emended thus: καλός τοι πίθων παρὰ παισί, ναιχὶ καλός. The playful repetition of καλός with a touch of caricature was pointed out by Christ, although he did not notice the original source of the idiom,—the erotic inscriptions on walls, trees, doors and vases. The repetition is to be explained as derived from the custom of repeated *toasts* with the mention of a name, or from a confirmation of an ascription of beauty (καλός) by some one present with the words: ναιχὶ καλός. Pindar uses for his irony the jargon which is found on Attic lovers' vases of the period 550-450 B. C. The old reading

αἰεὶ καλός is possible, but the irony is more striking, if the poet used the phrase in its full realistic wording. *ναίχι* is exclusively Attic, but Pindar might have used it to make a more clear-cut characterization.

10, pp. 447-448. W. Schmid, *Das Datum der Rede des Libanios εἰς τὰς καλάνδας* (IX F.). This oration was delivered on Jan. 1, 392 A. D. Kimon, the son of Libanios, had died a short time before.

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RHEINISCHES MUSEUM FÜR PHILOLOGIE, Vol. LXX, 3.

Pp. 337-357. A. v. Mess, *Die Anfänge der Biographie und der psychologischen Geschichtsschreibung in der griechischen Literatur*. I. Theopomp. Biography and psychological history make their appearance in Greek literature in the latter half of the fourth century B. C. The author thinks that the works of the pioneers along this line of scientific and artistic endeavor are very much underrated, and that even the origins of this branch of literature are as yet but imperfectly understood. Biography, as Leo pointed out, was begotten of Ethics. But rhetoric, to use a figure of v. Mess, assumed the rôle of god-mother, and thus Isocrates was for a long time regarded as the father of the infant. The real parentage, however, must be sought in the philosophy of the Socratic school, which permeated the whole intellectual activity of the fourth century. The endeavors of Plato to reform the empire of the Dionysii usher in biography and psychological history. Not long after, Aristoxenus sketched the lives of the great philosophers and reformers, and Theopompus wrote a history that centers around the personality of Philip of Macedon. Unfortunately, the materials upon which an independent judgment of these works may be formed, are fragmentary and scanty. But if one bears in mind the special interests of the excerptor and the narrow vision of the critic, one may reach a fairly just conclusion.

The name of Ephorus is usually associated with that of Theopompus, much to the latter's detriment. Ephorus was not a man of affairs, and his writing is dull. Theopompus, on the other hand, belonged to an influential patrician family of Chios, and participated in the political strife of his native city. A conservative aristocrat, he was friendly first to Sparta and thereafter to Philip. He was an exile for many years, and through travel became acquainted with a large portion of the Greek world. Though a genuine historian, he was largely identified with the rhetorical movement of his times, and, like most of the representatives of this movement, he thought rather

highly of himself. Indeed, the very opening of his gigantic work is an amazing piece of self-assurance. It is a virtual autobiography in which the writer claims the primacy over all his contemporaries. And yet, this introduction must not be regarded as altogether an effusion of vanity. It is rather an apology in which the author seeks to justify his assumption of so novel and ambitious a task. The conception of the plan reveals the statesman who recognized in Philip's narrowly circumscribed country the cradle of the future world-power. In strict keeping with the introduction and with the general plan of the work, the biographical element is everywhere in evidence. A large section—the latter half of book X—is devoted to political biography in the form of biographical sketches of the leading Athenian statesmen. Though, at first sight, much of the detail that has been handed down resembles malicious gossip, closer examination reveals many evidences of the liberality and the impartiality of the author. Abundant traces of this mode of treatment are to be found in the popular biographies of Nepos and Plutarch, and these are largely inheritances from Theopompus. Even Stesimbrotus of Thasos, Theopompus' precursor in the field of political biography, is not the blindly partisan pamphleteer that he has been supposed to be.

In the light of the foregoing observations the great and complex work of Theopompus becomes more intelligible. Personality is the central theme. Human life in all its manifestations is an object of interest. A picture is presented not only of Philip the ruler, but of Philip the whole man; and not of Philip alone, but also of the great throng of varied personalities that surround him. Moreover, problems of national psychology are also attacked, and the life-history of whole peoples is studied and described. It is true that Thucydides was not a total stranger to this realistic and psychological treatment of history, and, in its use, he far surpasses Theopompus. But personality, ethics, and psychological analysis are, as a rule, rigorously excluded from the intensely objective narrative of the Peloponnesian War, whereas they are of the very essence of the Philippica. This characteristic feature of the work of Theopompus did not pass unnoticed by the ancients, and a graphic account and a just appreciation of it are given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. But a project so ambitious involved contradictions and the portrayal of much that is lowest in human nature. For these things, Theopompus was roundly denounced by Polybius, to whom the colors seemed too dark for even a Sardanapalus. But the Polybian criticism is narrow. It is based on the uncompromising ethical code of the Stoics, while Theopompus' work was written under the influence of Socratic ethics and politics, which, along with higher and purer ideals, had at the same time a sense of the limitations and the varying

degrees of perfection of actual life. Theopompus, it is true, did not show the nice discrimination of a mind like that of Socrates, or of Plato; for he applied the standards of a highly cultured nation to the manners and morals of one that was half-barbarian. This false note and the strong contrasts of light and shade that inhered in the subject, the sharp antitheses that were characteristic of the Isocratean method of treatment, and the vivid colors that were the outflow of the Theopompean temperament, gave the Philippica an air of unreality. But, if due allowance for these dissonances is made, and a certain measure of the Michelangelism that the work possesses is eliminated, v. Mess thinks that the picture is, after all, remarkably true to nature.

Pp. 368-379. Alfred Klotz, *Zur Kritik einiger Ciceronischer Reden, III (pro Milone)*. A study of the testimony of Gellius, Quintilian and Asconius in regard to the text of various passages of the *pro Milone* shows that as early as the first century A. D., the MS tradition of this speech had separated into two branches, the one that is now represented by the family of the Cluniacensis, to which the text of Asconius belongs, and the other that survives in the family E. T., which is affiliated with the archetype of Quintilian's Cicero. Distinct from these two branches is the family to the existence of which the Bobiensian scholia bear witness, and still a fourth branch is indicated by the text of the palimpsest. The explanation of the early division of the tradition must be sought in the fact that Probus did not publish an authoritative edition of the text of Cicero as he did of that of Vergil.

Pp. 380-388. T. O. Achelis, *Zu den äsopischen Fabeln des Dati und Corraro*. In *Rh. Mus.* LXVII 285-299 Otto Tacke published the Aesopic fables of Leonardo Dati as found in the Rhedigeranus 60, a Breslau MS, without being aware of Lessing's publication of 26 verses of the same collection from the same MS. (Cf. Lessing, *Sämtliche Schriften*, Lachmann-Muncker, Vol. XV, 459 f.) Lessing's version is correct; Tacke makes mistakes. So l. 12 introd. *jubes* for *jube*; closing poem, vv. 4 and 6, *latine* and *latino* for *latina*. Lessing's version is correct, except that he changed, without comment, *corrañ* (= *Corrarum*) into *Corrarium*. Achelis also gives the results of his collation of the Florentine Latin MS plut. LXXXX sup. cod. 90, fol. 177, which gives a better text of the praefatio and the 40 fables of Dati than the Breslau MS. The text of Dati is based on the Greek of the Parisin. suppl. gr. 504, not on that of the Augustanus. Corraro, to whom Dati's collection was dedicated, himself later published Aesopic Fables. The date of their publication is not long after Feb. 20, 1431, the time of the death of Pope Martin V.

Pp. 389-415. Wilhelm Bannier, Zu griechischen Inschriften. 1. The epigram of Aristot. 'Αθ. πολ. 7, 4: Διφίλου Ἀνθεμίων τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε θεοῖς, θητικοῦ ἀντὶ τέλους ἱππάδ' ἀμειψάμενος, is the remnant of two successive distichs, written in two lines on two adjoining blocks in such a way that the pentameters began at the line of juncture of the blocks. The first of the blocks was lost and only the pentameter ends remained. 2. Discussion of the order of words in certain ISS apropos of Wilhelm, Beiträge zur griech. Inschriftenkunde. 3. Discussion of IS treated by Bourguet in Rev. d. ét. gr. XXV, 15. 4. Proof that CIA I 32A and B are distinct decrees, as Boeckh maintained. Though B is probably of later date than A, the two decrees were inscribed at the same time. 5. New explanation of IG IX 1, 333. 6. IG IX 1, 334 E, the author persists in reading *περὶ ροθαριᾶν καὶ μυσαχέων* instead of *Περὶ ροθαριᾶν καὶ Μυσαχέων*, and explains the context accordingly. 7. Discussion of the question of the distribution of the inventories of the treasures of the pronaos among the tablets on which they were recorded. 8. Study of the formulae used in the designation of the boards, committees, and secretaries in financial inscriptions. 9. CIA I 273. Discussion of the meaning and construction of the expression *τάδε οἱ ταμίαι παρέδωσαν . . . Ἑλληνοταμίαις . . . στρατηγοῖς*.

Pp. 416-440. Th. Steinwender, Zur Kohortentaktik. The author thinks that the cohort as a military body of definite size formed part of the Roman army at every period of its history. In the time of Servius the contingent of each tribe bore the name of cohort, and the quota of the allied communities continued to bear this name to the latest times. With the introduction of the manipular system, the cohort was divided into two smaller units called *manipuli* to correspond to the two lines of *hastati* and *principes*, and when the third line of the *triarii* was introduced, a third manipulus was added to the cohort. The result of this change was the loss on the part of the cohort of its importance as an administrative and a tactical unit. It only became a unit of combat again through the reforms of Marius. Doubtless the tactical evolution was a gradual one. Though the opinions of scholars vary considerably as to the depth of the cohort, it seems likely that this depth originally exceeded that of the maniples under the manipular system. With the advent of the cohort as a tactical unit, there was a change in the position of the maniples of the former line. The *triarii* were moved forward and received the place of honor on the extreme right of the cohort, the *principes* were marched up to the left of them, and the *hastati* were assigned to the extreme left next to the *principes*. As to the relative position of the centuries, the author argues in favor of the retention of their old position in the manipulus by the side of each other, and rejects the view, which is entertained by most authorities, that they were placed

one back of the other. The question as to the existence of an interval between the cohorts on the line of battle is answered in the affirmative, and Göler and Rüstow's view that this space was that of the width of the cohort is adopted, but the author believes that, when the battle began, this interval was closed up on the actual fighting line. It seems probable, however, that the individual legions, as also the center and wings of the whole line of battle, were separated from each other by intervals of greater or less extent. Whether at the very outset more than one line of battle was used in the new cohort formation is unknown, but it is highly probable. Sulla used a triple line of battle at Chaeronea, and this is the rule in the wars of Caesar and his opponents. In special cases an *acies quadruplex* or even a *simplex* is found. Caesar (B. C. I, 38) mentions as the distribution of the cohort in the legion, four cohorts in the first line, and three each in the other two lines. As to the uses to which these lines were put, the first was of course the fighting line. The second was a first reserve. The third line was used for special emergencies or as a second reserve. The author agrees with Fröhlich in regarding the *antesignani* as the first line of battle. The 400 *antesignani* that are mentioned by Caesar in the *Bellum Civile* were only a comparatively small part of the whole body of soldiers so designated. In regard to the density of the formation the author believes that there were two intervals between the soldiers, one of one step, the other of two steps, and that the presence of one or the other of these intervals determines the *acies densa* or *acies laxata*. By *διπλασιασμός* is meant the stepping forward of the men of the even ranks into the intervals between the men of the odd ranks and the forming of ranks of double the original density. This became necessary when special weight was required, or when the *testudo* was to be formed. But the loose formation was absolutely necessary if the cohorts of one line were to be relieved by those of another. The files of the relieving troops must be regarded as proceeding through the intervals between the files of the cohort that was to be relieved, whereupon the files of the latter are in a position to proceed to the rear.

Pp. 441-471. Thomas Stangl, *Lactantiana*. (Continued from pp. 224-252. See A. J. P. XXXVI 468.) The present contribution consists of notes of varying length apropos of seven passages of the *De Opificio Dei*, six of the *De Ira Dei*, and twenty-five of the *De Mortibus Persecutorum*. At the conclusion of the notes the author adds a few pages in which he describes the object of his investigation, his method of work, and the conclusions reached. His object was to form an independent judgment of the most ancient western theory of the universe, the place of the whole Lactantian corpus in the history of the language, and the genuineness of the *De Mortibus Perse-*

cutorum. A first perusal of the works of Lactantius was made without consulting Brandt's learned apparatus. The impression gained was that Lactantius might have written the D. M. P. just as Cicero wrote the *de domo sua*, *pro Marcello* and related speeches, and the *Timaeus*, or as Seneca wrote the *Apocolocyntosis*, and Tacitus the dialogues. In the course of the second and third reading linguistic and stylistic details were gathered. The large number of deviations awakened doubt as to the correctness of his first conclusion. But what other Christian stylist of the fourth century was there that was an eyewitness of the persecutions of the Christians in Nicomedia before 321? Another consecutive reading of the works confirmed the author's original impression. Vocabulary, use of words and sentence-structure are essentially those of Lactantius. Though the theological-philosophical writings show greater homogeneity, more careful workmanship and a higher polish, the variations in the D. M. P. are easily explained by the mood of the writer and the purpose of the work. The author closes with a statement regarding the date of composition of the D. M. P. He thinks the sooner after 313 it is placed, the better one can understand the above-mentioned divergencies.

Pp. 472-480, *Miszellen*: Pp. 472-474. Friederich Pfister, *Hat Ovid eine Gigantomachie geschrieben?* The author answers in the negative, contrary to the view of Schanz and de la Ville de Mirmont. In *Amores* II, 1, 11 ff. Ovid makes use of a familiar *τόπος* of Roman erotic elegy. Pp. 474-479. E. Hohl, *Text-kritisches zur Historia Augusta*. After shedding further light on the relationship and relative values of Σ and P, and incidentally defending his views against those of Miss Ballou, the author emends *Maximini duo*, 2, 1 and 28, 7. Pp. 479 f. Wolf Aly, *Ionische Wissenschaft in Aegypten*. Two instances of migration of Ionic astronomy to Aegypt.

C. W. E. MILLER.

BRIEF MENTION.

Brief Mention is a sad misnomer, and I was never more forcibly struck with the incongruity between title and contents than when the last number was handed to me, as I lay repeating my favourite quatrain from Heine, a favourite not of mine only but of many who pray for a life of endeavour and a quick exit (A. J. P. XXII 114)

Ein Posten ist vakant! Die Wunden klaffen.
Der eine fällt, die andern rücken nach.
Doch fall' ich unbesiegt und meine Waffen
Sind nicht gebrochen. Nur das Herze brach.

However, the misnomer will disappear with the brief-mentioner, and when the time comes, the old craft which I launched more than thirty-six years ago, call it 'pinnacle', call it 'barge', call it, if you are in a Shakespearian mood, as we all are, 'Andrew', shall be sped cheerily on its way with the cry: *Sine cortice nabis*.

Meanwhile I take up again the subject of Pindar, which continues to haunt me. I have collected a good deal of material for my detailed review of Sir John Sandys's version promised A. J. P. XXXVII 89. For a teacher of languages criticism of translation is an indispensable organon of instruction, and being no longer in the schoolmaster business, I am entitled to dedicate the instruments of my trade to Hermes Logios and, as I do so, I go back in memory to the early days when I used to study the translations consulted surreptitiously by my classes and, whenever possible, to criticize unmercifully the borrowed renderings. At times my conscience smote me, but the boys used their 'ponies' with fear and trembling; and this seemed the best way to correct the abuse of outside help. I remember my own experiments kept up for many years, some of them still staring me in the face, and I remember also the old verse: *μωμήσεται τις μάλλον ἢ μιμήσεται*, which may be rendered for the present occasion 'a man shall sooner underrate than emulate'. Carping is too easy and too ungracious for a veteran, and I frankly abandon my project of a comparative study of the two principal prose translations of Pindar, the one we owe to Ernest Myers, the other to Sir John Sandys. In the latter case I have had the amusing experience that now and then, when I was tempted to somewhat tart comment, I found that Sir John's

translation coincided absolutely or substantially with my own. But in such matters, I allow myself perfect liberty of self-criticism and I have reams of MS on which to practise. Some of my failings I have confessed before (e. g. A. J. P. XXII 106, XXX 352). To these I should add that I was and am no more free than are others from the tendency to use archaic language when I have to do with classical poetry. Andrew Lang half apologizes for it in the case of Homer, where it needs no apology. Bevan makes use of a strange mixture in translating Aischylos (A. J. P. XXIII 467). Starkie has given us a glossematic Shakespearian Aristophanes (A. J. P. XXXII 116-7); and everyone is in love with the Tudor translations because of the quaint effect (A. J. P. XXX 354), against which Matthew Arnold protests. The patina is adorable. Theoretically an everyday word ought to have an everyday rendering and yet we go on translating γῆρας 'eld' and δῶρον 'guerdon' and κίνδυνος 'emprise', lucky if we do not translate it 'derring do'. 'Father' becomes 'sire', much to the disgust of said Arnold. Pindarists are sadly given to 'sire', but the stud-book term is not so much out of place in view of Pindar's insistence on blood (I. E. xxiii). Why should κάπος figure as 'demesne'? 'Garden' is familiarly used in the same sense. Myers has the courage to translate πάσσαλος (O. I, 18) by 'peg'. Sandys calls it 'resting-place'. 'Pin' might serve as a compromise. 'Uncle', I grant, is an ugly word with ugly phonetic associations, but a great Pindarist has told us that Pindar does not shy at the ugly (A. J. P. XXVI 115) and Sandys has not bettered the matter by resorting to a dialectic 'eme', which he has to explain in a footnote and which recalls the sinister figure of Oom Paul. After all, the fault, and fault it is, must be construed as a tribute of respect to the 'exemplaria Graeca', though it must be acknowledged that the 'nocturna manus' sometimes evokes a nightmare.

The other essay—promised at the same time with a criticism of the new version—the paper 'On Translating Pindar', was not to be bound by personal applications and had its attractions for me, especially as it afforded an opportunity to branch out into all manner of disquisitions or rather lucubrations, for 'lucubrations' is a word that I love to apply to my own writings (e. g. A. J. P. XXXIII 227) by way of atonement to a distinguished scholar to whom years ago I gave mortal offence by making use of the word with reference to his admirable studies (XXIV 354) and thus alienated a valued contributor. But the essay must go the way of the criticism. All that I can do in my present environment is to indicate some of the lines I should have followed, none of them new—in fact it seems im-

possible to avoid trenching upon previous discussions—but all capable of individual treatment or novel illustration; and it is hoped that repetition (A. J. P. XXXVI 482) will be forgiven for the sake of reinforcement. I will not echo the cry of the ill-fated Swabian scholar and poet as he sat forlorn in his cell at the castle of Hohen-Urach, that cry of Frischlin's (A. J. P. XXIX 500) which comes back to me after sixty years—O wa seind meine Bücher! My 'lecticula lucubratoria'—a manner of prison—is only an anticipation of the summer quarter which I always spend far away from books; and at any rate the references in *Brief Mention*, no matter what the season, are usually afterthoughts.

A prime condition of an artistic rendering of Pindar is terseness. This involves a close adherence to the text, not, however, such as we find in Browning's *Agamemnon*, which is to be understood only by the light of the original, if then. The hardness of Pindar, not to say his obscurity, is not to be outdone, but it is not to be done away with. There are to be no periphrases for the sake of clearness. 'Varied melody of the flute' is no translation, it is an exegesis of βοᾶν αὐλῶν (O. 3, 8). 'The flute's cry' is as clear as was the sound of the Greek flute and as poetical. There are to be no substitutes of familiar proper names for those that are unfamiliar. Think of Horace. Think of Milton. The modern institution of footnotes will serve, such as we often welcome in the common editions of Dante and Petrarch. But that is after all a matter of judgment, and it has seemed to me that Sir John Sandys sometimes goes too far in helping the student to follow the text. The story of Kastor and Polydeukes, nowhere more beautifully told than in the Tenth Nemean, ends with the words: ἀνὰ δ' ἔλυσεν μὲν ὀφθαλμόν, ἔπειτα δὲ φωνὰν χαλκομίτρα Κάστωρος. It is almost an insult to be informed that this means 'Zeus restored Castor to life'. Suppose that in the story of Apollo and Kyrene (P. 9) Pindar had stopped at v. 67: κείνο κείν' ἄμαρ διαίτασεν. Would there have been any need of a scholium? Fortunately, Pindar chose to be his own interpreter, and shuts out all footnotes by the frank use of μίγεν, a favourite word with that chastest of poets, which he has left to be the plague of his modern translators.

One question of perpetual recurrence, a question that blocks the entrance to every translation of a poetical masterpiece, the question whether we are to have a verse translation or a prose translation, seems to be simplified in the case of Pindar by this same condition of terseness. Rhyme is excluded at once. True,

if translation is, as Wilamowitz has called it (after Herder, A. J. P. XXI 108), a metempsychosis (A. J. P. XIII 517), the critic loses his rights. The rebirth may be better than the original. We have not to decide between Murray (A. J. P. XXXI 359) or Way and Euripides, between Fitzgerald and Omar Khayyám. The famous Sonnet d'Arvers, so often itself translated, is said to be a translation. One does not care to see the original. Fortunately there is no original for Mrs. Browning's Sonnets from the Portuguese. Only the word 'Portuguese' gives us the key-note (A. J. P. XXX 354). Burton's Kasidah is a parallel instance. But we have mainly to do, not with metempsychosis, but with metaphrasis, and metaphrasis excludes rhyme. Turning over the other day the pages of President Gilman's University Problems, I found a quotation from Pindar. Outside of a few stock phrases, Pindar is seldom quoted, but until Professor Mustard or Professor Kirby Smith institutes the search, we shall never know how many threads of Pindar's diction have been woven into the web of modern poetry. The so-called Pindarists have shewn so false a conception of Pindar that I have never had the patience to explore regions that have become *avia Pieridum loca* to all except the student of comparative literature. If I were to engage in the search, I should look among the eulogists who flourished in the days when the ancient classics were the standards. Not so long ago I found an echo of the familiar *γένοι' οἶος ἐσσι μαθών* (P. 2, 72) in La Fontaine's eulogy on Louis Quatorze: 'Prince, en un mot soyez ce que vous êtes. | L'évènement ne peut qu' être heureux', and so President Gilman's Pindaric quotation occurs in a eulogistic passage. It is taken from Cary's version of the noble close of one of Pindar's noblest Odes, the last epode of the Second Olympian; and the idle thought crossed my mind that I might use the passage as an exemplar of the hopelessness of all the current rhymed translations. But 'actum ne agas'. The whole thing is too easy and one is tempted to parody Pindar himself and say of each such translator *ὅσα σφάλαματ' ἔθηκεν τίς ἂν φράσαι δύναιτο*;

Translation in the metres of the original involves serious difficulties. Is it as hopeless as the method just rejected? Germans have tried it. Their success or failure does not concern us here. But what are the metres of the original and would those metres produce on our sensorium the same effect as the Greek measures? Some of the Greek measures certainly do, notably the Asklepiadean (Shorey on Horace Od. i, 11; A. J. P. XXXIII 363; XXXVI 236), and recent studies in prose rhythm seem to bear out the notion of Aryan congeniality in the rhythm of language as in musical rhythm (A. J. P. XXXVII 120).

In my audacious youth I made many experiments, but with a wise reserve I have allowed very few to see the light. The monosyllabic character of our language is a serious drawback to the use of the iambic trimeter, which resolves itself too often into an Alexandrine (A. J. P. XXX 354, XXXVII 220), and, as for heroic hexameter and elegiac distich, hell is paved with the good intentions of the experimenters. The Horatian metres have tempted many. Among them, and not the worst of them, is Isaac Watts, and in my brief experience as Professor of Latin, I tried to teach the boys the lyric metres of Horace by ear—a method since recommended by Professor Shorey: and to that end I manufactured rhymed Alcaics and other enormities (A. J. P. XXX 355). Once I laid my unhallowed hands upon the lyrics in Aischylos and Sophokles. Pindar I have never dared to touch. Wilamowitz, as is well known, has resorted to what he considers kindred German measures for the reincarnation of Greek tragic choruses, but I have not ventured to pronounce judgment on the success of his experiments (A. J. P. XX 110). Of the elder Lytton's Horace, I said my say many years ago (cf. A. J. P. XXI 108). A man who was capable of translating Horace's 'triste lignum' 'arboretal assassin' may well have been expected to be capable of anything in the way of rhythm. The *vers libre* is coming into fashion and so is Southey, and this may be the way out. Rhythmical prose has proved a snare (A. J. P. XXIV 103).

Asked how Wellington spoke French, a royalist Frenchwoman is reported to have said: The Duke of Wellington speaks French as he fights, with great determination; and the Roman attacks the problems of the transfer of Greek metrical forms to Latin with great determination. One cannot help admiring the dexterity with which Ovid lightened the Roman elegiac, even if in so doing he overworked his scant supply of iambs. The example of the Romans may serve as an encouragement to those who are still bent on naturalizing Greek metres. But the naturalizing Romans broke down in the matter of compounds, and experiments like 'repandirostrum incurvicervicum pecus' were acknowledged failures. And here we encounter one of the great drawbacks in translating Pindar. Pindar's compounds are glorious (A. J. P. XXIX 120). He puts them in the forefront of his poems. Is it possible to translate the odes so as to bring out this feature? Hardly. Those who believe in the recurrent word as a guide to the meaning of the odes may take care to avoid the special English temptation of *ποικιλία* (A. J. P. XXVII 482), but the Greek compounds are baffling. The history of compounds in English as in Greek is not too

well known; and to minds of a certain order, there is an irresistible lure into the regions of chronology and statistics. The literature is scattered and to me inaccessible; and I doubt whether anyone has been at the pains to exhibit in figures and in curves the census of compounds in either language. The Greek compounds, admired by the men of Shakespeare's age (A. J. P. XXIX 120) who were best fitted to cope with them, belong in their origin to a period earlier than the so-called parts of speech. They have a 'mysterious way' with them, and it is no blasphemy to say that they were originally framed 'in deep, unfathomable mines of never-failing skill'. There is little divine about English compounds. They are agglutinations of words already made. The best are those that belong to the richest period of our language, and the margin of my Valpy edition is flecked with Greek equivalents for Shakespeare's compounds (A. J. P. XXIII 467). The Elizabethans are the source from which the translator must draw, if he wants something organic. Under German influence, Beddoes (A. J. P. IV 445) brought back the compound business, and the same German influence has turned the stately procession of our language into a chain-gang. To be sure, English compounds have a value of their own, but they must spring from the life of the people. It is well worth noting how few permanent acquisitions were made by the Civil War—stirring as life was then. 'Gripsack' and 'carpet-bagger' were the chief. Such things are to be cherished, and 'jimber-jawed', which has been the subject of learned discussions, is almost as dear to me as one of the inexplicable sacral epithets in Homer. But I run my eyes down Tennyson and find scant comfort in his creations—to say nothing of lesser artists (A. J. P. XXIII 409). Now the very fewest Greek compounds are made up of agglutinations; there are very few dvandva compounds. The words must undergo a sea-change before they can be fused; and though I hate to use the word 'law' in philological matters—for 'law' is 'organized will'—I had rather be the author of Scaliger's 'law' than of Grimm's. I say 'monogram' and 'telegram' with the rest of the world, but I respect the modern Greek 'telegrapheme'—though the run of modern Greek compounds has roused the ire of some of the leading scholars of the Hellas of to-day. As for ancient Greek itself, the cases made havoc with compounds. Syntax killed synthesis. The articular participle, and that plebeian intruder, the articular infinitive, offered rough and ready substitutes, and *οὐ* and *μή* killed off negative compounds. The fun of Aristophanes' mad compounds is heightened by the contrast of the spoken language. It is, to use Heine's figure, the waving of an exaggerated monkey-tail. The overdoing of the later dithyrambic poets is a manner of protest against prose. Now I have called Pindar's compounds

glorious. How many of them are his we cannot tell. Some of the boldest seem to be common property, and yet there are, or, at least, there may be those who feel a difference between Pindar and Bakchylides in this regard (A. J. P. XXIX 369). Now most of Pindar's compounds are untranslatable by compounds, and the translator has to take refuge in periphrases as does the Homeric paraphrast. The relative periphrasis is flat, flatter than it is in French (A. J. P. XXIII 469); and the translation of Greek compounds by the relative is too much like the translation of the Homeric compounds by the instructive but loathsome Paraphrasis. In any case no English device will reproduce the *πρόσωπον τηλαυγές* effect of Pindar's great odes.

This difficulty is matched by another of a very different order. What of the particles? Sandys has not overlooked the particles. Some of them he has undertaken to translate—sometimes. To be sure, Pindar is not the best possible field for the study of the particles. I keep the English word because the Greek *σύνδεσμος* has a wider application. Pindar is famous rather for his *ἀσύνδετα*, on which Dissen has a long excursus. He abounds in the *μέν* and *δέ* antithesis which Mr. Benn would doubtless attribute to Pythagorean and consequently to Delphic influence, as if antithesis had to be imported. But the Theban eagle in his swirling flight loves to surprise us by the inconsequence of *μέν-τε*. Mommsen has much to say about *τε* and *τε-τε*. The *τε* solitarium may have been felt originally as a liberty, if indeed we are to trust those who seem to be pillars. Pindar uses his other particles in the accepted fashion. He swears somewhat freely with *μάν*, avers with *ὄν* (*οὖν*), which despite the phonetists is the primal *ὄντως*. His *δή* is as clear-shining as the day itself. He rattles his sabre with *ἄρα*. He waxes confidential with *τοί*, shakes his head with *πov*. What I have said about *τοί* and *πov* (A. J. P. XXX 14) has been quoted and approved by a grammarian of mark. There is more about the two particles in A. J. P. XXXIII 240, where I substantiate more fully the statement that *τοί* is an appeal for human sympathy, and *πov* a resigned submission to the merciless *rerum natura*. *πov* is 'somewhere', like 'somewhere' in France or Belgium to-day. The familiar rendering of *πov* by 'haply' is a partial recognition of the cruel domination of chance. As for *τοί* the vague encliticodemonstrative theory advocated by Gesner Harrison in his Greek Prepositions and by Bäumlein in his Griechische Partikeln finds scant favour to-day. The ideal second person may be combined with the real second person as in *σέ τοί*, just as in Latin the real second person may be linked with the ideal second person in the present subjunctive. *τοῖνυν* in Pindar

(O. 6, 28) is somewhat of a surprise. More than thirty years ago a French scholar disposed of the Greek particles with characteristic French neatness and despatch (A. J. P. V 124). He snapped his fingers at Rosenberg's monograph on *τοίνυν*. *τοίνυν* he declared, is 'maintenant', but 'maintenant' provides after a fashion only for *νυν*, whereas the *τοι* part is meant for the jury. *τοίνυν* is a cajoling particle, and it is not surprising to find that it abounds in Lysias (A. J. P. XXXIII 240), who may have picked it up in Lower Italy. Indeed Pindar himself may have caught it from Teisias or Korax, an hypothesis which would lend confirmation to my interpretation of *λόγιοι* in Pindar (P. 1, 94). To be sure, that interpretation was cold-shouldered by Jebb, a past master in the art of cold-shouldering (A. J. P. XXVII 480, XXXVI 367). Unfortunately Verrall's interpretation of O. 2, 96 has gone the way of many if not most of his interpretations (A. J. P. XXXIV 491), and I myself after all these years seriously incline to the acceptance of Bergk's *γαρνέτων* for *γαρνέτον*. See Sandys's note on the passage. Of course, there are those who will sneer at the notion that *τοίνυν* is due to local influence. And yet some of the objectors have doubtless accepted with joy Plato's importation of *τί μήν*; = *πῶς γὰρ οὐ*; from the West (A. J. P. III 376). The West was responsible for much in Greece as our West is responsible for much in America to-day. It is an old story that the vocabulary of Aischylos was enlarged by his sojourn in Sicily and when Wilamowitz notes the bold innovation of *γ' οὖν*, one is apt to suspect a Sicilian origin for a combination which became so common in Late Greek as *γούν* that it was felt simply as a reinforced *γε*. But I do not wish even in jest to be considered a Lesbonax Redivivus with his *σχῆμα* this and his *σχῆμα* that—but make my humble apology to the masters whom I have mimicked. *φλυαρία τὰδ' ἐστὶ τὰ μεμνημένα.*

The apology I have just made to the serious-minded readers of the JOURNAL is due to the fact that I have more than once been warned off the premises of the scientific grammarians (A. J. P. XXXV 493), and, I must confess, to my delight. At my great age I am now as free as were the past service citizens of Plato's Republic to consort with any vagrant fancy, and if I have a weakness, it is for the *Ἀφροδίτη πάνδημος* of popular etymology. Scientific etymology and she are sisters under the skin, but the younger sister is uncertain—*τὰ μὲν δώσει, τὰ δ' οὐπω*. Witness the to and fro of the etymologists who weave their webs in the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY. Popular etymology knows its own mind and blurts it out. If one fancies that the Greek attitude towards garlic was different from ours,

σκόροdon q. d. σκαῖον ῥόδον 'rose over the left' reveals the state of the Greek mind or nose. Unfortunately, my homely oracle is silent, and there is little to be gained from popular etymology in this field of research. All that we learn from consulting the popular consciousness is the aura, the environment, the association. Take μέν and δέ. Can we be certain that the people felt them as μήν and δή, which science tells us they were originally? μήν belongs to the sphere of ὄμνυμι and δή to the sphere of δηλον. δέ δή is a manner of δηλαδή. μέν when it stands alone, is evidently a vicegerent of μήν. Now μέν and δέ are found from the beginning of our record used consciously with antithetical force as μήν and δή are not used. It is an old story. Oath against fact, personal conviction against the evidence of things, the inner man against the outer world, then like 'on the right hand and on the left' used antithetically just as ἀνά and κατά are used without reference to perpendicularity. Of course, if we use metaphysical jargon and call one 'subjective confirmation' and the other 'objective attestation' or rather 'subjective attestation' and 'objective confirmation', we may expect the cry of 'over-refinement'. The sophists spell the thing out for us with their λόγῳ μὲν-ἔργῳ δέ of which one grows heartily sick, but one cannot get rid of the polarity of the Greek mind (A. J. P. XXXIII 240). Imagine a Greek writing a letter as long as the Epistle of St. James without a μὲν-δέ (A. J. P. XVI 526). Instead of μὲν-δέ we sometimes find μὲν-μέντοι—a welcome variation because it gives the element of moral reconsideration and we are nearer the primal μήν and the primal τοι. The translations of τοι now in vogue, such as 'mark you', 'you must know', are too cumbrous for so airy a particle, but this thin tissue of speculations and reminiscences must be brushed aside.

Another Pindaric note—this time to register a tribute to a fellow-worker in the same field of the Charites. It is impossible to dissociate a man from his books. Some books are understood only when the man is known. Sometimes the book inspires mortal hatred of the author, unrelieved or haply heightened by personal acquaintance; and every one who has been guilty of a textbook, can testify to social animosity engendered in the minds of those, who, in their tender years, have been made to endure hardness by reason of this or that school manual. Witness the savage onslaught made by the sweetest-tempered of men, Sir William Osler, upon Farrar's Greek Verb (A. J. P. XXX 108). There was a lover of Greek, who although a lover of Greek, or because a lover of Greek, bore a grudge against the whole tribe of those who waste their own time and the time of others over such futilities as the syntax of ὥστε (A. J. P.

VII 161); and so deep-rooted was his aversion that he could not suppress his surprise at the tradition that the elder Buttmann was a charming person in social intercourse. Now I never met FENNELL and knew him only as an acrid critic; and perhaps I shall be pardoned for saying that, from what a friendly reviewer of his career has called his 'austere' Pindar and from his other publications, I should not have formed so attractive an image of my fellow-Pindarist as is set up in the *Cambridge Review* for Jan. 26, from which I learned for the first time that he had joined the goodly company of those who called forth the 'Ahi, quanta malinconia' of Fraccaroli in 1894 (A. J. P. XV 503). In the number of the *Cambridge Review*, to which I have referred, FENNELL is depicted as a man noteworthy for 'his sunny disposition, his generosity and the serene courage with which he faced the trials and troubles of life'. Judging him by his writings, I fancied him to be what an old French writer calls an 'homme astorge et impiteux'; and whenever he differed, as he often did, from accepted views and traditional interpretations, I thought I could hear him say 'Verjuice is good for a parrot'—the delicious translation of the Terentian 'Veritas odium parit', which we owe to Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. The cool reception of my Pindar by the English press, the assurance given by a leading critical journal that my unpretentious edition 'did not enter into competition with Dr. FENNELL'S' failed to mitigate the sharpness of his censure; and the second edition of FENNELL'S *Olympians and Pythians* is studded with oblique criticisms, which I summarized at the close of my review, as follows (A. J. P. XIV 502):

I will not let Mr. Fennell's somewhat blunt expression of differences in details of interpretation interfere with my satisfaction at his approval of my general treatment of Pindaric composition; and in my hearty recognition of the services rendered to the study of Pindar by this new edition, to which I hope to return, I shall not be disturbed by the epithets 'idle', 'rash', 'fanciful', 'far-fetched', and 'unsound' which he has bestowed on my exegesis. He who hears nothing worse from his brethren of the philological guild may count himself lucky. *θεός ἐστὶ ἀνέμῳ κέαρ*, says the youthful Pindar, with an optative he might have learned from Hesiod. *ἐν δ' ὀλίγῳ βροτῶν τὸ τεργνὸν αὖξεται*, says Pindar, the aged.

The unfeigned good humour with which I received FENNELL'S disparaging remarks seems to have tempered his acridity somewhat, and by the light of the articles in the *Cambridge Review*, I have re-read a letter of his which I understand even better now than I did when it first came into my hands.

BARTON COTTAGE, CAMBRIDGE.
(No date.)

Dear Professor GILDERSLEEVE:

At last I have got hold of your review of my new Pindar and thank you for the handsome terms in which you speak of my labours. Your strictures are not galling, all the less so because my curtness is not my fault. Our never to be too much anathematized Press Syndics limited

my space so that I had to excise and compress wildly. I was of course anxious to air my own views and so I naturally only mentioned other people's views when it seemed necessary. . . . I am sorry that you thought my criticisms of your work and that of others needed repentance. I think my raps were no harder than yours. One's knuckles are less sensitive than one's face. But had I had more space, I should have been far less dogmatic.

Yours very truly,
C. A. M. FENNELL.

Whether I should have coupled the name of FENNELL with that of Mr. GARROD in a recent *Brief Mention* (A. J. P. XXXVI 476) if I had known that the editor of Pindar had passed beyond the reach of earthly criticism, it is hard to say. Death, which wipes out all other scores, shows no mercy to the members of our guild. The worthy magister, who two hundred years ago confused Lycurgus, the orator, with Lycurgus, the lawgiver, is still held up to ridicule. Neither age nor sex is spared. 'Vexat censura columbas', and despite my inbred deference to woman-kind, I myself have called attention to the blunder of the young lady who confounded Herakleitos and Herakleides (A. J. P. XXXIII 114). Still I could not help shuddering the other day, when an irreverent Italian scholar in discussing Pindar, O. 8, 85, spoke of 'la cervelletica opinione di Boeckh', Boeckh the greatest Hellenist of my day, if not of all time. The spectral hunt of the Νέκυια goes on through the ages.

The irreverent critic of Boeckh whom I have just cited is Professor LUIGI CERRATO of Genoa, whose edition of *Pindar's Olympians* marks the return of the editor to his first loves, *Le Odi di Pindaro, Testo, Versione, Commento—Parte 1^a Olimpiche* (Sestri Ponente, Bruzzone). In his *Tecnica composizione delle odi pindariche* published in 1888 (A. J. P. XI 528) Professor CERRATO shewed himself in accord with Croiset as to the function of the myth, and gave his adhesion, in general, to the distribution of the odes advocated in my *Introductory Essay*. Unterrified by the counterblasts that have been blowing these twenty years and more, CERRATO still maintains that the myth is an incarnation of a moral idea. The general plan of the ode is actuality, myth, actuality, though there are variations, and the myth is not indispensable. The connexion of the myth with actuality need not be very close, and it is idle to seek in the myth a perfect reflex of the life of the victor, an exact parallel between the prizor of flesh and blood and his mythical prototype—the besetting sin, the fatal insistence, of Boeckh and Dissen, against which I have found occasion to protest at every turn in my commentary. The invention of an historical

romance in order to unriddle hypothetical allusions in the myth is a sheer waste of learned ingenuity. There is not the ghost of a smile on the countenance of the makers of these *fabliaux*, whatever merriment they may have kept hidden in their hearts; and I am gravely concerned lest some serious person may have thought I was in dead earnest when in the last number (A. J. P. XXXVII 108) I suggested an anthropological interpretation of the Ninth Pythian. The trouble is that paradoxes begin to gain on the paradoxographer. The anthropological interpretation of the passage is reinforced by Cheiron's *σεμνὸν ἄντρον* and still further by Professor Fay's cave-dweller etymology of *ἄνθρωπος* q. d. **ἀντρωπος* just as the feminine nature of the genitive (XXXVI 109) is reinforced by the passivity of those senses that take the genitive (A. J. P. XXXI 75).

Of the artistic merits of CERRATO's version I have no right to express an opinion. I have declined to pass judgment on Wilamowitz (A. J. P. XX 110) and Bellermann (A. J. P. XXXIII 229) because, though familiar with German from my early youth, I do not claim the native feeling, and my knowledge of Italian is rudimentary. Still it may be worth noting that though CERRATO is dissatisfied with Fraccaroli's poetical version and praises Romagnoli somewhat grudgingly, when he quotes versions of other authors, he prefers the poetical rendering. As to points of interpretation that are not affected by the subtleties of foreign idiom, there are divergencies of exegesis between my commentary and Cerrato's as there are between my commentary and that of Sir John Sandys, but of these divergencies only one or two specimens can be given, the rest being reserved for my projected 'Pindarica'. Needless to say, having committed myself in print, I am unconvinced. So O. 4, 10 CERRATO translates after Dissen *χροινώτατον φάος* 'luce perenne' in which he has the support of Sir John Sandys, and, according to my judgment, misses the point of the little ode (A. J. P. XXVIII 481; XXIX 503). The last two verses he assigns to Pindar and not to Erginos, just in order to carry out his scheme of Attualità—Mito—Attualità. O. 6, 31: *κρύψε δὲ παρθενίαν ὥδινα κόλποις*, he renders 'tenne occulto il virgineo frutto nel suo grembo', defending his version by the authority of Dissen, Heyne and Dukas. The plural might have given him pause and 'tenne occulto' produces the effect of *κρύψασα εἶχεν*.

NECROLOGY.

JAMES MERCER GARNETT.

(1840-1916)

Professor James Mercer Garnett, a constant contributor to this Journal, died at his residence in Baltimore on the 18th of February of the present year, the seventy-sixth year of his age. He was born on the 24th of April, 1840, in Aldie, Loudon Co., Virginia. His parents, Theodore Stanford Garnett and Florentina Isidora Moreno (daughter of Francisco Moreno of Pensacola, Florida, whose ancestors came to this country in the early colonial period), belonged to families of social, professional, and political distinction. Professor Garnett was especially interested in the history of his paternal line, and during the last two decades of his life prepared and published the following histories and sketches: 'James Mercer Garnett' (1898), a member of Congress, 1805-1809; 'Genealogy of the Mercer-Garnett Family of Essex Co., Va., and of the Mercer Family of Stafford Co., Va.' (1905-10); 'John Francis Mercer' (1907), Governor of Maryland, 1801-1803; 'James Mercer' (1908), a member of the Virginia Court of Appeals, 1789-1793; 'Muscoc Russell Hunter Garnett' (1909), a member of Congress, 1856-1861, and a member of the Confederate Congress, 1861-1864; 'Charles Fenton Mercer' (1911), a member of Congress, 1817-1840. These writings, however, gain a wider significance when it is observed that they give an indication of Professor Garnett's characteristic envisaging of the serious concerns of life. He valued good tradition in family and in state; believed in strong attachment to local centers for the maintenance of individuality and force of character; and persistently supported organization and institutional control of agencies in political, ecclesiastic, and educational progress. It was inevitable, therefore, that he found his most congenial method of argument for future advancement in re-tracing the steps by which the present had been attained. Whatever his immediate activity might be, he was at the same time historian of the underlying principles. No one could know him and be surprised that he should write on the 'Early Revolutionary History of Virginia' (Va. Hist. Collections, vol. xi, 1892), and on the 'University of Virginia, its History, Influence, Equipment, and Characteristics' (1904).

Many titles of papers and addresses would have to be added here to give a complete view of Professor Garnett's sustained interest in the history and experiences of Virginia and in the past, present, and future of the University of the state.

His career was not without variation. After preliminary training at the Episcopal High School of Va., he entered the University of Va. in 1857, where he obtained the degree of M. A. in 1859. The next year he was a teacher in Greenwood School, Albemarle Co., Va., and then returned to the University for a graduate course (1860-1861). Experiences of another character now set in. He entered the Confederate Service July 17, 1861, and was paroled at Appomattox Court House April 9, 1865. Professor Garnett's military career, in which he attained the rank of Captain of Artillery (in the 'Stonewall Brigade'), was cherished to the end of his life as a memory of highest duty faithfully performed. In obedience to his request he was at death shrouded in his militant uniform, and was thus buried in the symbols of one that never faltered in an avowed purpose or failed to keep once plighted faith.

Academic duties were resumed at the University as Licentiate Professor of Ancient Languages (1865-1866). The next year he taught Greek and Mathematics at the State Univ. of La., and in 1867-1869 was Principal of the school of his youth, the Episcopal High School of Va. He declined continuance in this office, and led by his preferences went abroad to study the classics at Leipzig and Berlin (1869-1870). On his return he became President of St. John's College, Annapolis, Md. He held this office for ten years (1870-1880),—years in which he became a prominent advocate of certain changes in educational theory and practice. In addition to his scholarship in the classical languages—especially in Greek—he had been led to study Anglo-Saxon and to see the importance of basing courses in English on historic principles. He now inaugurated and conducted a department of English in accordance with these convictions, and in published articles and in addresses before Educational Societies urged the study of the language and literature of the early periods. It was the decade in which the neo-grammarians issued their initial edicts, and the contagion of their enthusiasm quickly reached some American scholars. Professor F. A. March, of Lafayette College, had indeed anticipated the new movement by publishing his 'Anglo-Saxon Grammar' and 'Reader' (1869-1870), but the new school of scholars in Germany imparted the stimulus to the fuller appreciation of these books. Professor Garnett won a distinguished place in that small group of American scholars who then perceived the need of more scholarly methods in the teaching of English. He was a principal advocate of the reform, as may be inferred from the titles of some of his addresses: 'The Study of the Anglo-Saxon Language and Literature' (Proc. Natl. Ed.

Assn. 1876); 'The Historical Method in the Teaching of English' (*id.* 1879); 'Text-Books of Instruction in English' (Va. Ed. Assn. 1878); and ten years later, 'The Position of Old English in a General Education' (Va. Assn. for the Advancement of Higher Education, July 10, 1889; 'The Academy,' Boston, 1890).

After leaving Annapolis and while awaiting an academic appointment he conducted a private school at Ellicott City, Md. (1880-1882), and finished his translation of 'Beowulf', which was published in 1882. But he was soon (1882) called back to the University of Va., as Professor of English, and held that post until 1896. His retirement was spent in Baltimore, but it was not an idle retirement. He at once accepted a temporary appointment to teach a year at Goucher College, and thereafter for a number of years took pleasure in assisting private pupils. But he was otherwise busily engaged to the end. In memory of his year at Goucher College he published an edition of 'Macbeth' (1897), and it has been noticed above that the History of the Univ. of Va. is dated 1904; his genealogic sketches also fall within this period. He continued, moreover, to contribute to this Journal, to 'The Nation' and other periodicals; and contemplated an edition of the Anglo-Saxon 'Juliana', for which he published a preliminary study (Publications of the Mod. Lang. Association of America, xiv, 1899).

In addition to the books already mentioned Professor Garnett edited the following texts: 'Selections in English Prose from Elizabeth to Victoria' (1891); 'Hayne's Speech to which Webster replied' (1894); 'Burke's Speech on Conciliation with America' (1901); and following the method of his 'Beowulf', he published a translation of 'Elene, Judith, Athelstan, and Byrhtnoth' 1889; enlarged ed., 1901). His 'Beowulf' has continued through many years to be perhaps the most widely read translation of the poem. Its usefulness has in part been due to the Bibliography supplied in it and through repeated revisions kept notably complete. In this line-for-line and rhythmic translation a certain level of merit has been maintained that has survived considerable controversy as to the best manner of translating Anglo-Saxon verse,—a controversy to which Professor Garnett gave careful attention in two papers in the Publications of the Mod. Lang. Association of America, vols. vi (1891) and xviii (1903). In point of accuracy the translation is highly praiseworthy,—it is indeed especially creditable in view of the state of Anglo-Saxon studies in America at the time it was made. Professor Garnett continued to follow with close concern all critical examination of the original text, and kept wishing for his publishers' consent to bring his translation into agreement with the latest accepted readings.

He never relaxed in his interest in the progress of English scholarship, as is shown in his book-reviews published in this

Journal; and in accordance with his confidence in organized effort he was an active member of the American Philological Association, The Mod. Lang. Association of America, The American Historical Association, and The American Dialect Society. Another aspect of his coöperation with institutional control was observable in his activities as a devout churchman. To the scholarly side of this devotion may be referred his interest in Biblical criticism, which led him into making a collection of editions of the Greek New Testament. It was long his daily habit to read a portion of this text. Without further comment the following titles of some of Professor Garnett's articles in this sphere of subjects will evoke no surprise: 'Why the Revised Version should be Appointed to be read in Churches' (The Virginia Seminary Magazine, vol. v, nos. 7 and 9; 1892); 'The Gospel of St. Peter' (The Protestant Episcopal Review, vol. vii, no. 3; 1893); 'The Apocalypse of St. Peter' (*id.* vol. vii, no. 8; 1894); 'Tyndale's First Printed English New Testament' (*id.* vol. xii, no. 1; 1898).

Within the limits of this necessarily brief notice of Professor Garnett's career as a scholar, it has not seemed possible to do more than to select some of the details from which his mind, character, and industry may be best inferred. He was a man of sober demeanor, betokening seriousness of purpose and resolute adherence to duty. With the same faithfulness by which he pursued his studies he held firmly his attachment to his many friends. He was the soul of loyalty. In intellectual and social relations he was equally just and genial. His external calmness, it was felt, gave assurance that his opinions and sentiments were deeply founded in his best thought and in his just and kindly judgment. He will be remembered and lamented as a scholar of wide attainments and an unfaltering eagerness in the pursuit of knowledge; as a man of stability and strength of character; and as a constant, sympathetic, and helpful friend.

JAMES W. BRIGHT.

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